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> At Tongataboo we noticed just the very reverse: in the presence of the aged the 888
> younger persons observed the most respectful silence. . . .
>
> In the Friendly Islands marriage is general, and, except the chiefs, they seem to have 582
> only one wife. It is said at Tongataboo, that adultery is punished with death. There, 595
> and at the Marquesas, no infant murders are allowed; but, contrariwise, they are fond 622
> of their children, and take pleasure in a numerous family. Though at the decease of 684
> Tibo Moomôoe [Tui Kanokupolu Mumui], and during his illness, some cruel and inhuman 847
> practices are mentioned, yet nothing comparable with the horrible human sacrifices at 855
> Otaheite. In another feature also they differ, as old age is as much respected at Ohitahoo 888
> and Tongataboo as it is neglected at Otaheite.

Elsewhere (66, p. xlix) Wilson remarks: "The women were far less 241
immodest [than those of Eastern Polynesia]; but the men were more gen- 276
erally addicted to the pepper-root draught, here called kava." 562

The manner in which an establishment set up by a newly married couple 592
may be augmented is illustrated by the following example. When a Hihifo 622
(western Tongatabu) chief married a Hahake (eastern Tongatabu) woman, 602
some of the wife's relatives came to live with the couple at their home in 591
Hihifo. When a child was born still more came. They would look after the pigs, and the plantations. They did more for the couple than did the husband's relatives, although they too were supposed to aid. This is a manifestation of the superiority of the husband's side of the family to the wife's.

RANK WITHIN THE FAMILY

Rank within the Tongan family involves two fundamental factors, sex 561
and age. Of the two, sex is unalterable and may transcend age. A woman 562
is always superior in rank to her brother regardless of seniority and it fol- 593
lows from this that a woman's children are always superior to her brother's 565
children. After sex, relative age becomes the determinant for rank. Generally speaking, older sisters outrank younger sisters and older brothers outrank younger brothers.

The father's side of the family is the chiefly (*eiki*) side, the mother's side of the family the commoner (*tua*) side.

A child must respect his father and his father's brother who are in many 604
ways tapu to him; but to his father's sister (*mehekitanga*) he must pay
even greater respect. It is she who is really supreme in the family. Her 784
person, food, clothes, and bed are tapu; she often controls the matri- 582
monial destinies of her brother's children. The respect which is shown her
is extended also to her husband. In other words, a man marrying a woman 607
has the same sort of social superiority to his wife's brothers that the woman
herself has. It is the woman's relatives who frequently serve her and her 602
husband. A striking example of this principle is revealed in a curious 604
practice. While eating, the people of Niuafoou Island turn their backs to 264

the breeze blowing from Niuatoputapu Island. This respectful manner 604
of eating is assumed because Niuatoputapu is "chief" to Niuafoou: the 602
chiefly house of Niuafoou ~~once~~ supplied a wife for the chief of Niuato- 264
putapu.

It is tapu to touch the father's head or hair, to touch him while he is 593
eating, to sleep on his bed or pillow, to partake of his food or drink, and 784
to play with his belongings. The result of infraction, sickness and perhaps [826]
early death for the child, might however, be overcome by the father stroking [755]
the child's throat, head, or stomach; that is, the seat of the trouble that was
believed to have arisen from an infraction. The tapu is weakened today. [178]
An informant of high rank who had been educated in Australia said he
never touched his father's head, but that he would not hesitate to let his
own son touch his.

A youth observes all the prohibitions with his father, but may take all 603
sorts of liberties with his father's father. Thus he may wear his father's
father's *vala* (garment), or eat his food. Toward the mother's father, the
same license prevails. Collocott has described the privilege of eating the
fono (relish food) which the grandchildren enjoy at the kava circle (15,
p. 30).

The relation of the children to their mother is one of freedom from 593
restraint and tapu. A Tongan explained this to me on the rationalistic
basis—the child must have unrestrained access to its mother for the sake
of nourishment. Towards the mother's sister the child's attitude is the 604
same as towards the mother. The maximum of freedom, however, is found [603]
in the child's behavior towards the mother's brother and the mother's father.
The child is *fahu* (above the law) to his mother's brother.

If a woman of high rank marries a commoner, their offspring treat the 593
father and his brothers and sisters as though they were chiefs. Respect 604
to the father and his siblings is enjoined regardless of rank, for relative 565
to his offspring his rank is always higher, as head of the family. These
same offspring of a woman of rank and of a man of commoner clay are
perfectly free to act as they please toward their mother and her siblings.
Towards their mother's brother they stand in the relation of *fahu*, even
though their father is of inferior rank.

It is apparent that because of these relations between sex and age, 593
no two individuals in a Tongan family are identical in rank. The situation [171]
is similar to that in the Japanese family, in which, as stated by Hearn
(29, p. 80), "every person, from the youngest child up to the grandfather,
was subject to somebody else."

The exactness with which members of a family are graded in rank is 593
well shown by the following example: Two girls, Fakatoumafi and Ika, are 605
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562

cousins, Ika being the younger. Their mothers are half sisters, having had 593
one father but different mothers. Ika's mother is the superior of the two 605
sisters apparently only because she is the older. But this superiority makes 561
Ika superior to Fakatoumafi. When the two cousins bear children, it is 562
not the relative age of the children, but the rank of their mothers, that will determine the superiority or inferiority of the offspring. So even though Ika is the younger of the two cousins, her children will rank Fakatoumafi's children. The children of Ika's older sister, however, will be superior to Ika's children because their mother is the older of the two sisters. But Ika's children will be superior to her older brother's children, and in fact to all of her brothers' children, because of Ika's superiority to all of her brothers—based on the principle that sisters rank brothers.

565
Concerning rank in relation to eating, P. A. C. (46, p. xv) in substance 554
says the following: "It was forbidden to an inferior to eat or drink in the 264
presence of his superior, and no one was allowed to eat before the Tui [643]
Tonga, who himself might not eat in the presence of the elders of his
family." That this statement applies within the family as well as in society [593]
in general is obvious from the reference to the Tui Tonga and the elders of his family.

THE FAMILY, THE KEY TO TONGAN SOCIETY

Ranking of individuals within the Tongan family, termed *lahi* (abundance, plenty, greatness), is the key to the organization of Tongan society 593 565
in every stratum. From bottom to top and from top to bottom of the 561
social ladder one general scheme of family organization prevails. As the 562
Tui Tonga is *eiki* (chief) to his younger brothers, so in every Tongan family 554
the older brother is chief to his younger brothers. As the Female Tui Tonga is superior to her brother, the Male Tui Tonga, so in every family in the land the oldest sister is superior to the oldest brother. A common man's sister's children are *fahu* to him and may exact what they wish; the Tui Tonga was often *fahu* to the Tui Kanokupolu; and the Tamaha, the highest earthly dignitary, was always *fahu* to the Tui Tonga.

Relatively speaking, in every household there are chiefs and commoners.
As in the family no two individuals are identical in rank, so in the enlarged 602
family, with its greater number of degrees and consequent widening of the 554
extremes. In reckoning the interrelationship of all the individuals descended from a common remote ancestor, the range in rank from the lowest to the highest becomes greater still, and the intermediate degrees of rank are
exceedingly numerous. The fact that the Tui Tonga and his cooks (among [643]
the lowest of commoners) were blood relatives is an illustration. In brief [565]
then, a commoner is an individual who by virtue of descent through a series

Tonga), attributes the coming of part of the second Falefa to Tuitatui's 644
reign, about 1200. It is said that Tui Talau (Tui Motuliki) and his mata- 175
pule arrived at that period from Fiji. When the Tui Tonga gave Tui Motu- 613
liki his choice of residence, he selected Talau in Vavau, hence the title Tui Talau (50, pp. 140-142). If the attribution to Tuitatui's reign is true, it sets back the origin of the second Falefa about 250 years before the time given by Tungi. But this would correspond to the lapse of two or three centuries, in Havea's account, between the first and second Falefa.

After the disposition of the lineages of Matakehe, Tui Folaha, and Maliepo, described above, the second Falefa took the place of the first, with matapule who had come from Fiji, Samoa, and Rotuma.

The first lineage of the second Falefa was that of Tui Loloko, which was the only lineage carried over from the first Falefa. The same matapule also functioned, although for Malupo in this second Falefa a Fijian origin is asserted, he having come with Tui Motuliki (Tui Talau).

The second lineage was that of the Tui Talau, which came from Fiji. 644
The matapule Faingaa, Hoakai (Soakai in Fijian), and Mapu were Fijians. 175
Faingaa's god was Kanahe. Hoakai's land allotment was at Felemea, Uiha 613
Island, Haapai. It was bestowed by the Tui Tonga. Hoakai was the mata- 648
pule who ate and smoked with the Tui Tonga; the privilege also being exer- 643
cised in recent years with the Tui Kanokupolu (15, p. 41). When the
first Hoakai came from Fiji and, knowing no better, sat down to eat with
the Tui Tonga Tuitatui, he was permitted because he was a foreigner
and his descendants continued to hold that special privilege. If a Tongan 643
ate the Tui Tonga's food, it was thought he would be afflicted with goiter 264
(*fua*) which only the Tui Tonga could prevent by stroking. Hoakai 644
analyzes as *hoa* (pair) and *kai* (to eat). What was left over after the Tui [753]
Tonga and Hoakai had finished eating was given to Uhatafe to eat. The [755]
descendants of the chief Maafu Tukuiaulahi, who was of Rotuman origin,
were also privileged to eat the remains of the meals of the Tui Tonga.

McKern, who saw the present Hoakai, says that he was notably different 644
in personal appearance from the prevailing Tongan types. His lower limbs 142
were small at the knees and his ankles in proportion to their thickness elsewhere. His waist was small in proportion to the breadth of his hips. His skin was darker than that of the relatively dark skinned Tongan. His hair was decidedly curly.

Niutoua, Tongatabu, a town in the district called Hahake, Tongatabu, 361
where Tui Motuliki is reported to have landed, has a noticeably dark element 167
in its population. These dark skinned people were pointed out to McKern 144
by Tamale, of Niutoua, as the descendants of the Fijians whom Tui Motuliki brought with him to Tonga.

rank the head of the house, the seat *matuloki*, was given to him, the host, 592
if a chief, taking his proper place to the right of the ranking guest, if a 554
matapule, at *d*. If the host were a commoner and a chief should enter, the 574
host sat outside the house. If a man should sit in a place to which his rank 565
did not entitle him, the ranking man present, would order him to his proper 554
place. If a man should occupy a place inferior to his rank, he was invited 576
by the person seated at *matuloki* to occupy his proper place. As every man knew his correct place without being told, to sit in the wrong place was not only an error, but a presumption.

[342]

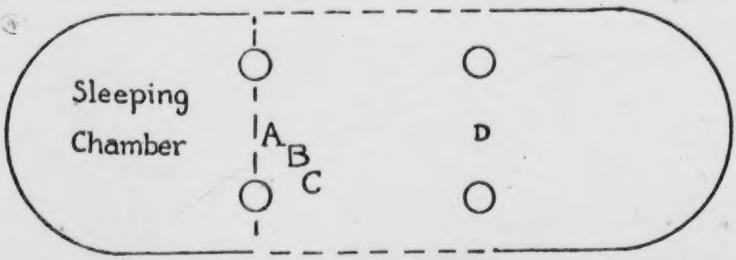

FIGURE 2.—Sketch showing manner of seating within the house: *a*, place of highest honor; *b*, place next in rank; *c*, place for chief third in rank; *d*, place for seating matapule.

On ordinary occasions, in the representative household, food was not 264
eaten at any one place or by the household as a group. Each person ate where he chose, but always outside the dwelling house, often in the kitchen house.
On special occasions, as when guests were present, leaves or mats were spread 264
at a definite place and a seating arrangement was observed as shown in 574
figure 3. 554

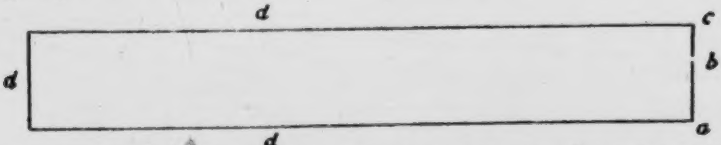

FIGURE 3.—Sketch showing manner of seating at eating places: *a*, *uluipola* (head in coconut thatch), reserved for the ranking person present; *b*, *c*, *d*, places of decreasing rank, called *tafaaki pola* (coconut leaf thatch at the side).

The structural differences in the houses of chiefs and commoners are 342
described by McKern (43). 114

The garment worn by men, women, and children of all social stations 291
was the *vala*, a rectangular piece of tapa wrapped around the loins and hang- 565
ing from the waist to the ankles or above them. According to one informant

mand. Kava was also brought as a peace offering. A high chief, who was coöperating with me in gathering data, left word for an old man to come to our temporary residence, distant four or five miles. The old man failing to come, a second messenger was sent with a threat of horsewhipping. Thereupon the old man came as speedily as his years permitted, bearing a large piece of kava. He was profuse in his apologies, saying that he did not know whom it was that had requested his appearance. I noticed that servants of this chief in approaching bent low and that if he was seated near the door of the house they would make their exit through a window rather than pass near him. 622 276 431 [123] 622 687 576 [554] [357] [516]

A general tapu is placed upon the dishes and the remains of food or drink of a person higher in rank. It was thought that one breaking this tapu would suffer from sore throat, but the person of rank might offset the evil consequences by stroking the throat of the unfortunate person with the hand (anciently also with the feet). This tapu which holds throughout Tongan society is particularly observed between a chief and his underlings. To eat in front of a chief is likewise forbidden, the difficulties being avoided by eating with the back turned to the chief (*kaitafoki*). 565 264 784 [753] [755]

The head of a person, also the back, is tapu to one of lower rank; it is tapu to pass close behind a chief. At big kava parties a great chief who does not sit in the kava ring takes a position which makes passing behind him unnecessary. 622 576 565 284 [826]

The food of a chief had to be prepared in a certain style and certain portions of mammals or birds were regarded as belonging by special prerogative to the chief. A roast pig is presented to a chiefly person in the following manner: After the pig has been removed from the oven and placed on its back on the hand barrow, sections of fresh banana leaves tied in place by strips of banana leaf are wrapped about the extremities of the four legs, the nose, and the region of the rectum. The purpose of this treatment was said to be the concealing of all those parts of the pig most in contact with anything dirty or filthy. The four parts of a pig which are regarded as fit food for a chief are in order of importance: (a) the back (*tua*), (b) the head (*ulu*), (c) the rump (*tuungaiku*), (d) the chest (*fatafata*), spoken of as the common part. 622 262 252 [784]

In serving chickens and pigeons to chiefs, the parts in order of importance are: (a) the rump with the oil glands (*muimui*), (b) the skin of the neck and back (*kiliikia*), (c) the legs (*alanga*), (d) the wings and chest (*hikehika*). I saw the operation of dividing a fowl for a high chief. The oil glands and the bit of skin near the rump were given him first. Then the skin at the base of the skull was broken with the fingers and stripped down the back of the neck on to the back.

Fakamuifonua. A method of making kava; a very formal procedure employed only in the making of kava for the Tui Tonga, the Tui Kanokupolu, or an important chief. 276 574 192

Fakataane. The sitting position of the Tongan men, knees widely extended, flat on ground, feet folded beneath legs, body inclined forward, elbows across upper legs, hands near lap, left hand taking care of lower garment (*vala*), keeping it pulled up from behind and between legs when necessary, as when assuming the position and rising. This was the ceremonial sitting position. At a *fono* or kava circle a commoner could be killed for shifting to the slightest degree from this position. At times of entertaining it was extremely discourteous for a man to sit in any other position, unless he were infirm, or had some other physical excuse. It was tapu for a woman to sit in this fashion. [516] [689] [576] [562]

Fakatakape. To clean the bowl rim with *fau* fiber, as soon as the *fau* is thrown into the bowl. The *fau* is passed twice around the rim, wrung out, and thrown back and away from the mixer, as in the later part of the process.

Fakataue. To mix very strong kava in a new bowl and bathe the edge of the bowl repeatedly with the strainer, to give the bowl's interior the kava stain—a yellowish deposit which adheres to the bowl.

Fakatomo. The central tap root or body of a large kava root, not chopped into small pieces, but left intact. For a great chief's kava.

Fatuauho. Thick kava made from the small roots of the plant.

Fau. Fiber of the inner bark of the hau (*Hibiscus sp.*). A bunch of this fiber serves as a strainer.

Fono. The food or relish distributed at a great drinking of kava. The kava and the particular *fono* that accompanies it are distributed simultaneously, but the food is nowadays not eaten, but collected again. Formerly it was eaten. Sometimes ten or more *fono* are served, according to the number of mixings of kava. Should the same kava be used for a second infusion, an accompanying *fono* is not required. The *fono* is divided into three lots by one of the two matapules who sit beside the presiding chief. The first lot is for the chief; the second and third lots, divided by the matapule, are for their respective sides of the ring. [264] [624] [622]

Kava. The plant (*Piper methysticum*); the drink made therefrom; a piece of the root from which the drink is to be made.

Luluki. The root of the kava plant.

Malumelmua. The order by the matapule who is master of ceremonies to the attendant who carves pork, instructing him to cut the back of the roast into two equal portions. [624]

Pelu. A drinking cup folded from the banana leaf, having two puckered corners tied with banana stem fiber. The drinker holds the cup by the two corners or ears. Used for the drinking of kava on certain ceremonial occasions. Used at the Queen's kava circle at her coronation. For most modern kava parties a half coconut shell serves as a cup. [415] [415]

Toua. The place behind the bowl in which sit the relatives of the chiefs who are in the kava circle.

Uhunoa. Refers to matapule not visiting a chief's house with a piece of kava, but going instead to other peoples' houses without kava.

DIFFERENCES OF PROCEDURE

The late rise of the Tui Kanokupolu makes the titles connected with the kava ceremony for this office less ancient than many of those connected with the ceremony of the traditionally older office of Tui Tonga. The Tui 276 574 643

that is, the precedence of a chief in the Tui Kanokupolu's kava circle might 276
574
differ from his precedence in the kava circle of another chief. 576

In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the wooden kava bowl (*kumete*) is desig- 565
nated as *tanoa*. On one side of the outer surface of the bowl is a little 276
raised block (*taunga*), usually triangular, perforated and threaded with a 574
piece of cord by which the bowl may be suspended when not in use. In the 415
Tui Tonga's kava circle the bowl was so placed that the *taunga* was towards
the president, a position called *fulitaunga*. In the Tui Kanokupolu's kava
circle the *taunga* is towards the kava mixer, a position called *olovahaa*,
because the space (*vahaa*) between two legs of the kava bowl is towards
the president.

In splitting a large root of kava with axe or crowbar, in the Tui Kano- 276
kupolu's kava circle, the roots are placed towards the president, the branches 574
away. In the Tui Tonga's kava circle the position was reversed. In count- 576
ing baskets of food the Tui Tonga (Kauhalauta) people touched the first
and merely pointed to the rest (14, p. 210). "The first one is the Tui
Tonga's and he alone is chief."

Food, as a relish (*fono*), is placed before the individuals in the kava 276
circle. While of old, it apparently was eaten by the people to whom pre- 574
sented, at the present time it is removed and eaten by the *fahu* (sororal 264
[178]
nephews or grandchildren). [604]

When the Tui Kanokupolu arrives by sea in another country or in a 276
distant province, his navigator, in the place of the regular matapule, must 574
direct the activities of the kava circle. He serves in this capacity for three 484
643
mornings, in addition to the kava drinking when arriving. After that Motua- [502]
puaka, or one of his family, resumes his duties in the kava ring.

The following account by William Tungi, a grandfather of the present 276
Prince Consort, relates the directions for the Tui Tonga's kava circle, said 574
to have been formulated by Loau, the Tui Haamea, during the reign of the 576
Tui Tonga, Takalaua, or immediately thereafter. 643

> These are Loau's directions: When the chiefs are assembled in the kava ring in the green of the Kauhalauta called Faoamanafa, on the left side [of the Tui Tonga] will be the Tui Faleua; on the right side [of the Tui Tonga] will be Tokemoana; Tafolo will sit at the turning in [*fasialofi*] of the right side of the circle; Lomulahi will sit at the turning in of the left side of the circle; and the Tui Haa Teiho sits at the end [near the kava bowl].
>
> It is forbidden to strike the wrong-doer at the kava drinking. There is a saying, [681]
> "A sinner at the place of refuge." And it is forbidden to deprive the chiefs of the [622]
> food portioned to them as relish (the carrying away of the relish), and it is loaded [264]
> into carrying baskets. The relish food of the matapule may be taken away; and the
> younger brother may drink the kava.

The following account of the kava circle of the Tamaha is translated from a manuscript by Elia Malupo, matapule of the Tui Tonga:

Formerly, when all were assembled in the kava ring at the green called Faoamanafa, there would be there the Tui Faleua (Tui Pelehake), the Tui Tonga, Tokemoana, Tafolo, Tui Houa, and all of the Sinae; Tui Hoi, all of the Fale Fisi, the Tui Haa Takalaua, and the Tui Kanokupolu; besides the Tamaha, who came first. The Tamaha would preside, and tne kava for them would be strained sitting; but the kava of the Tamaha would be strained standing. And if they conversed the Tui Tonga, the Tui Faleua, and Tokemoana, and all the chiefs would "ei" (an expression of respect) to the Tamaha. If the Tamaha were absent and the Tui Tonga presided, this respect would be shown him. 276 574 576 643

Now [in the time of King George I, when this was written] that the Tamaha is not there, who is the first in the land? It is Tupou Maeakafa (King George I Tupou). He has become the sacred person and the Tui Tonga, and the Tui Faleua must "ei" to him, and do to him the sacred ceremonies, and if he is not there then these ceremonies shall be done to the Tui Faleua.

This is the order given by Loau for the sacred ceremonies of the Chief [Tui Tonga]. And the kava ring faces him [the Tui Tonga] and the sacredness of persons commences with him and continues to the end.

Loau is said also to have formulated rules for the kava circles of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu [probably an anachronism], which are given by William Tungi as follows:

Pea ne pehe ki he faikava oe faahinga o Moungamotua, moe Tui Kanokupolu, ke vahaai taha i toomatau, a Niukapu, pea vahaai taha i toohema, a Nuku; pea nofo ae faahinga Haa Ngata i he toua, o leo ae faikava. Ka i ai ha hia, ke tai, koe ta koia, oku fai aki ae sina, pe koe haamo, pe katai kava, oku lolotonga mama, ka oku tapu ke tukii, ka oku atape ke na fuhu. Pea ne hokohoko, ae tuku fakaholo ae kava, aia oku tau kea aki: "Koe tuku eni a Loau."

And he (Loau) said about the kava ring of the family of Moungamotua, and the Tui Kanokupolu, for Niukapu to be on the right side, and Nuku on the left side; and for the Haa Ngata to sit in the *toua* (place occupied by the people), and to guard the kava ring. If there are any wrongdoers it is their duty to punish them, which is done with the wedge for splitting up the kava, or with the stick for carrying burdens, or with the branch of the kava plant which has been chewed, but it is forbidden to thump them, and they must not fight. Then he gave the order in which the kava was to be given, which is introduced thus: "This is given according to Loau." 276 574 576 643 539 [681]

A manuscript in the possession of the late Maatu, Lord of Niuatoputapu Island, was written by his father, the preceding Maatu, who relates the following concerning his place in the kava circle of the Tui Kanokupolu, George I. 276 574 576 643 264

The relish (*fono*) for the King and myself is two yams and an odd one. Put the back to them and bring them straight to the front.

Because of their sitting on either side of the King, it is Nuku and Niukapu who will receive the first relish. Then mine is brought because of my [genealogical] connection. Another chief is sitting between [me and the King], but the relish is first brought to me who is next. The head of the pig and the back are taken to the chief to separate.

When my kava is brought, it is delivered and kept. If the food is insufficient I 276
have to ask permission of the presiding chief to drink. 574

To smoke is forbidden for the lower matapule, but is allowed for the chiefs and 576
Motuapuaka on one side. If they are far from the King they may smoke a little. 643
The side of Lauaki is quite forbidden to smoke. [264 689]

MAKING AND SERVING KAVA

The following account from living informants describes the making 276
and serving of kava at a modern kava party: 574 576

The matapule to the right of the president calls out, "Ui haa motokonaki," the command to assemble the proper materials for the making of kava. The things are brought and assembled at the end of the kava circle, opposite the chiefs, in front of the kava mixer (*ngahikava*), who has two attendants called *angaikava*, one on either side.

Then the matapule at the right of the president calls, "Hao ha tangata." This is the command for someone to come to him for the kava root. One of the *angaikava* responds, carrying the kava to the lower end of the circle, where it is pounded on a stone anvil with a hammerstone. [Formerly it was chewed, a process called *mama*.] [178]

The pulverized kava is gathered by the two *angaikava* and placed on the mat to the right and back of the mixer. One of the *angaikava* then rinses the interior of the bowl, rubbing it with his hands—a process called *kaukau i ai tanoa*. Another picks up the bowl by its rim, with his left hand, strikes its bottom with his right hand (an act called *hiki tanoa*), and places it before the *ngahikava*. An *angaikava* then pours the kava into the bowl from the right side of the mixer, who then places a doubled mat or a piece of tapa, or other material, under him, so as to be in position to lean well over the great bowl. This act is called *lango lango mei*.

The mixer, with graceful flourishes of the hands, mashes the kava together in the bowl, spreading it out over the inner surface of the bowl, and tipping the bowl slightly away from him, his hands on either side of the rim, exposes its interior to the president, calling, if the president be the king (Tui Kanokupolu), "Holo ae taumafa ni" (Knead this drink), or "Kuo holo kava ni" (This kava is kneaded), if the president is below the king in rank. [195] [643]

The right hand matapule answers: "Kuo holo: tukuatu" (It is kneaded: Lower the bowl, which has been tilted towards the matapule) "Tuumalie pe kae palu." (All right, mix). "Tafoki kimoua" (Turn), addressed to the two helpers on either side of the bowl, who turn inwards. "Ai haamo vai" (Put in your water), at which many people run for water, the helpers shouting, "Vai!" (Water!) to the people in the *toua*. Those who first bring water, in coconut shell containers, deposit it before the bowl. The right hand helper then takes water and pours it into the bowl, while the mixer kneads the kava in the water. "Vaitaha" (One water) (almost enough). One helper ceases to pour water; the other alone applies water. "Taofi vai" (Stop pouring water). They stop adding water. "Palu fakatatau pea tui haafakamau" (Mix equally) and "tui haafakamau" (probably a method of twisting the *fau* fiber strainer). With a double flourish of the hands the mixer mixes the kava and ends abruptly, resting his hands on the edge of the bowl.

Then the right hand helper throws the *fau* fiber strainer on the bowl. In this kind of a kava party the strainer is very large and is called *unu*. With more hand and arm flourishes the mixer wets the *fau* and wipes the edge of the bowl, being very technical and formal in his movements. Then he begins to strain the kava, a process called in this ceremony *milolua*. He carefully and slowly pulls the strainer through the water with both hands. He then raises it, one end in his left hand, twists it and lays the twisted fiber on his left foream, the one end still clasped in his left hand. Then he reaches under his left arm with his right hand, takes hold of the end of the

out of respect to the highest chief. Thus Tungi's sitting outside the coronation 276
kava ring in 1918 was to show respect to the Tui Kanokupolu 574
(Tungi's wife). Tungi had a matapule near him, however, a departure from 576 643
the custom of the preceding Tungi. 622

Veehala, Maafu, Ata, and Vahai are chiefs who hand their kava to their 554
matapule. Both chiefs and matapule receive the kava with both hands held 276
low. Each matapule sits on the side of his chief away from the king. When 574
the chief passes his kava to his matapule, he does so with one hand, so that 576 643
the back of the arm is toward the king. The matapule receives the kava with 622
both hands, holds it a while and then returns it to the chief, who receives it 624
with the same hand with which it was passed. The chief then drinks it. The 554
handing of the kava to the matapule is a sign to the one serving that the
matapule must not be overlooked. To do so would be an offense to the chief [721]
and would be a cause for war.

Precedence is very important. If there are, for example, two Moala in 276
the ring and the matapule who is serving does not know their distinctive 574
appellations, both may clap their hands when the name Moala is called. The 576 554
serving matapule then calls for two cups to be filled. If one of the Moala 624
wishes to argue over the matter, he calls for the servers to stop. The order of
precedence is then discussed and settled.

All food and kava, brought in *haamo* fashion (on shoulder poles) was 276
deposited before the president in a long row, horizontally facing him. When 574
placed before the president, his matapule chanted, each in his alternate turn, 264
at time intervals of a few minutes: "Fakafetai toho kava; fakafetai fanga [624]
puaka; fakafetai ngaue" (Thanks for the *toho* kava; thanks for the pigs,
thanks for the ovens of food).

FUNERAL KAVA CEREMONIES

The following account of funeral kava ceremonies for a great chief is 276
derived from a manuscript by the late John Panuve Maatu, chief of Niuatoputapu: 574 764
622

> At a funeral, Lauaki serves at the kava parties till the time of the placing of small stones on the grave (*lanukilikili*). Then Motuapuaka takes his place. Thereafter the kava and the cooked food are brought to the grave.
>
> This is the way of thanking the matapule one after the other when all is ready: 276
> "Thank you for *kava-noo* (kava bound together). Thank you for *kava haamo* (kava 574
> carried on the shoulders). Thank you for *kava hula* (huge kava). Thank you for 576
> *kava toho* (kava too large to be carried, but dragged on the ground)." 764
>
> This is the manner of thanking for the work, one thing after another: "Thank you for *ngaue* (a word applied to the preparing of food in a native oven). Thank you for the *feiumu fakahunga* (very large food). Thank you for the *feiumu hula* (huge food). Thank you for the *feiumu toho* (food too large to be carried, but dragged on the ground)."

On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This 881
bath was called *kaukautapu*. Each boy took off his own bandages and bathed without 515
anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them 752
and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is
said to have had no name other than *lalava*, or *kaikai*.

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout 881
the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was 574
lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present 264
of oven products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers 789
of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast 593
in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the opera-
tion, as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present 431
for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one 761
of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. 784
Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to 752
have had no names.

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but 58
it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some 114
particulars.

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *aleai* (arranged) and *fa-* 581
tongia (duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To 595
marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua*.

Wilson (66, p. liv) states: 837

> Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death. 684
> The lascivious practices which are almost universal there [Georgian Islands] seem 548
> to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class. 171

The Tongan term for prostitute is *muitau*. It is perhaps to such a 837
person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her
paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people 584
is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the 604
marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans
of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of 584 622 302
a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head.

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*veifua*) is 585 593 431
presented to the bride by her brother.

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced 587
in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin mar- 582
riage of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among 622 565
chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her
cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititama*. Marriage to identical cousins
was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata
Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages

The reply is given, "We, Motuapuaka and Lauaki; we have come in attendance on 585
Vaoloa" (or whatever may be the bridegroom's name). Then the maiden comes out, 565
and goes with the bridegroom, and this [untranslatable] invocation is uttered, "Tula-no
lomai-saiena, tietia i le tafatusema. Singano e tu'u, fa'a mumuni, sa pule mo sa manatu."
And they call the names of the bride and bridegroom, "Vaoloa e, Vaoloa e, Takala e,
Takala e," or whatever they may be. Individuals have more than one name, but the [551]
names used on this occasion are those that are held in esteem. Then they cry, "Mimisoe,
mimisoe, alaimafae, alaimafae, asapae, asapae," following this with a loud shout. Someone
keeps shouting, over and over again at the top of his voice, "ai, ai, ai, ai," until they
come to the bridegroom's house, where an abundance of food has been prepared. Kava 585
is drunk at the bridegroom's house, the bride being the president of the ceremony. If 565
Lauaki and Motuapuaka each has a daughter, the daughters distribute the kava, and 276
continue to perform this duty until the end of the marriage ceremonies. If Lauaki and 574
Motuapuaka have no daughters to do this, they themselves control the distribution. One 431
basket of food (*fono*) is brought to distribute with the kava, the remainder of the food
that has been prepared is taken to the bride's home. Every day there are presentations
of food and kava (*pongipongi*) until the marriage is completed [or this might be rendered,
until the marriage is held]. If the man is not wealthy the festival is held quickly, but
if he is illiberal it is delayed for a long time. [Meanwhile, of course, the stingy bridegroom
is obliged to entertain the guests.]

Part of the bridegroom's duties is to attend to the building of the *fale manava*, 585
the house on, or near, the green (*malae*) where the marriage festivities are held, and 565
which serves as a dressing-room for the bride.

On the night before the day on which the marriage ceremony actually takes [276]
place, the bridegroom's sisters come with kava, and with some of the bride's people drink
kava on the *malae*. This is called *kaihaa malae*, stealing the green. The green is swept
beautifully clean. A chiefly man is brought to prepare the kava for the ladies.

Early in the morning the drum is beaten for the ceremony and the bride and bride- 585
groom are adorned in dresses provided by the bridegroom. The bride's dress is called 565
the *puke* (seized). It consists of one of the mats called *fihu*, two of the mats called 292
ngafingafi, and any specially fine or notable mat (*kie*) which is available for her to put
on. It is said that she has been "held" or "seized" with the fine mats. This dress is
the *vala fetaki*, dress of going hand in hand. The two go to a house on the *malae*,
where there is a great pile of native cloth, provided by the bridegroom, and cloth bound
round with the fine mat called *fihu*. This is the *epa* (a sort of bridal throne). They
then return to the dressing-room (*fale manava*), and change their dresses, putting on
garments provided by the bride. In these fresh garments (called *vala toonga*, consisting
perhaps of one each of the mats known as *fihu* and *ngafingafi*), they go again
(presumably to the house where is the *epa*) without clasping of hands. When they
return this time the dress called *vakai* is put on the bride, and she goes, without the
bridegroom, to the house on the green, and sits on her throne. Here she is anointed 585
with turmeric (called the *vala vali*, dress of painting). Then the bridegroom's sister 565
utters an invocation, "May you bear children, yea even twins." Then the bridal kava [302]
is served, accompanied with large quantities of food. [276]

After that the drum is beaten for the native dance, and the woman goes and puts on
other mats and returns and walks about. After the dance, the drum is beaten for the [264]
couple dance (dancing in pairs). Then comes the night dance which lasts until dawn
of the next day. Sometime during the night the *piha pongipongi* is held, and the basket 585
of food is brought which is called *lomi piha*. It is portioned out. Food is also portioned 565
out to the dancers. 535

Is there anything that has not its food ceremony? Each food ceremony has its 585
meaning. The coconuts to be cooked are brought green and in bunches. This is the food 565
brought by the woman's party. The coconuts are gathered in bundles and the cooked 264
food is gathered in bundles. These are the special baskets of food: the *veifua*, which is

brought uncooked and is provided by the bride's people; the *vai*, also brought uncooked; 585
and the *umu manava*, which is cooked. 565
264

The second day of the marriage is the day of purification. The woman is bathed
with candlenut as detergent and afterwards presides at her kava ring. Then her bundles 783
of mats and native cloth are brought and disposed of as she desires. Then these games 524
and dances are held: (1) *tafoe*, a game; (2) *lanumanga*, a game; (3) *meetuupaki*, a
dance. The third and last day of the rejoicings comprised: (1) *lave*, reciting and singing 535
of poetry; (2) dances: *laufola*, *meetuupaki*, and other dances; (3) and various 538
games. 533

DEATH

Burial seems to have been the only method of disposing of the dead in 764
Tonga. It seems possible that some embalmment was practiced in which
interment of the corpse was deferred several years. Collocott has sent me a 127
note gleaned from the journal of an early Methodist missionary, now in the
keeping of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, which refers to the period from
1831 to 1837 and speaks of "a party celebrating *putu* (funeral) for a child
who died seven years ago, but whose corpse was not interred until last week,
which was the third and final mourning."

The body of a chief is anointed with scented oil, laid out in state, and 622
fanned with a long-handled fly switch (*fue*) of coconut fiber. It was possibly
in connection with embalming that the undertaker (*haatufunga*) removed the
brains and apparently the intestines of the chiefly dead. Apparently, however,
embalming was very rare in Tonga. The accounts of the burial of
great personages such as the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga given by
Wilson (65) and Mariner (40) give no hint of embalming or preservation
over long periods.

The undertakers of Tonga are of the matapule class and are appointed 767
like other matapule, great chiefs having as attendants during life the men 565
who will perform the funerary functions for them at death. The chief 622
undertaker of modern Tonga is Lauaki, one of the two great matapule of
the Tui Kanokupolu. The Lauaki who functioned at the funeral of King
George II in 1918 was still living in 1921. He is chief of the Haa Tufunga 613
or "Lineage of Undertakers." The first Lauaki (Maliepo) is reputed to
have been the paternal half brother of the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu, and to
have descended from the sky with him. Apparently the funeral duties of 644
Lauaki are a development following his transfer from the Tui Tonga's court
to the courts of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu. Lauaki seems
to have had no mortuary duties for the Tui Tonga, for whom this service
was rendered by the Tui Folaha.

Funeral matters were regarded as of great importance. In the court of 764
the Tui Tonga a considerable number of matapule of the Falefa (p. 66) 644
had special funerary duties to perform upon the death of the Tui Tonga.

The principal undertakers of the Tui Tonga in the time of the first Falefa 767
were the matapule Aholangamaka and Mailau, who were under the Tui 565
Folaha, the supervisor of stone vault construction. In the time of the second 644
Falefa, at least Tui Loloko, Tui Matahau, and Tui Talau, and presumably
also the fourth, Tui Amanave, had funerary functions.

At the present time the Tui Haa Teiho appoints Fiefia and Ngalu as his
undertakers, while the Tui Kanokupolu has the great matapule Lauaki and
the lesser matapule Mailau and Mau as his undertakers. Ulukalala of
Vavau, like other Vavau chiefs, has no special undertaker, but when he dies
it is likely that Lauaki or Mailau, or some other *haatufunga*, will look after
him. There are many chiefs without undertakers. [622]

The undertakers now in Vavau are: Kata, grandson and representative 767
of Lauaki; Vatuvei, formerly appointed by the Tui Tonga; Aholangamaka 551
of Falevai, the son of Vatuvei.

Lamatau (full name Lamatuuaki: *lama*, to watch the end of life, and 767
tauaki, almost dead) was also a *haatufunga* to the Tui Tonga. His duty was 643
to watch beside the dying man, sitting with a *kie* or *ngafingafi* mat to spread 763
over the corpse. The mat was supplied by the family of the dying person. [551]
After covering the corpse with it, the watcher removes the mat and goes off
with it, retaining it as his property.

Preparation of the body for burial may be done also by relatives of equal 764
or superior rank to the deceased, such as the *fae* (mother, real or classificatory)
or the *mehekitanga* (father's sister, real or classificatory).

Mailau was the title of the matapule who supervised the cutting and 764
moving of stones for the construction of royal tombs. Such work was seen 643
by Labillardière (37, vol. 2, p. 150). Modern royal tombs are built of concrete; 767
formerly they were of coral limestone. The Tui Tonga Laufilitonga's 349
tomb, Langi Foou, is built of concrete on top of the ancient Langituofefafa. [644]
A list of royal tombs called langi is published (25, 125). The modern
kings, the Tui Kanokupolu George I and George II, are buried in great terraced
concrete tombs in the Malae Kula at Nukualofa.

Upon the undertakers the *nimatapu* (hand-tapu) was imposed for five, 767
ten, or fifteen days, which meant that they could not feed themselves for 784
that length of time after handling a corpse—being fed by others. The period 264
varied with the rank of the deceased. The penalty for touching food was [565]
said to be punishment by the highest chief of the family. A *haatufunga*
might or might not be a relative of the deceased. That the hand tapu on [565]
the undertaker followed the handling of the corpse of persons of scant rank
is not certain.

Nowadays even commoners are buried by the *haatufunga*. Anciently a 764
commoner's corpse might or might not receive such attention, and it was 565
767

heiteans, they use an expression of thankfulness for whatever they receive, always lifting it over their heads. (66, p. xlix.) 576

Relatives, close friends of either or opposite sex, greeted each other, after periods of separation, with the nose-pressure. Among commoners this was called *uma*. Among chiefs the same caress was called *fekita*. A commoner never kissed a chief in this manner—excepting a common woman taken by a chief as a wife or concubine. No one so kissed the Tui Tonga but his favorite wives and his immediate relatives. Others kissed his foot or his hand, according to their rank, by touching the nose thereto. [565] [593] [595] [643]

There were three forms of *uma* or *fekita*: the pressing of nose end to nose end; the pressing of the sides of the noses together; the crossing of noses and pressing together of nostrils. These various methods have no specific names. There were formerly but two correct methods of kissing, namely the first and third; no one but a "country fellow of low birth" would employ the second. The first was employed by relatives and friends, and the third was employed by man and wife or by sweethearts.

In passing, friends always had a conventional word of greeting. Acquaintances used this greeting if of generally equal rank. Enemies usually ignored one another. This salutation made constant use of the term *malo* (well done, it is good), implying praise or approval. For example, if A walked along a road and passed B who was pulling weeds by the roadside, A would say: "Malo e hua" (Well done your pulling weeds). B would answer: "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, well done your walking by).

Or two men pass each other in fishing boats: A says, "Malo e toutai" (Well done your fishing). B responds, "Io, malo e toutai" (Yes, well done your fishing).

Also, A, carrying a burden by means of a *haamo* (shoulder) stick, passes B who is digging yams. A says, "Malo e keli" (Well done your digging). B responds, "Io, malo e haamo" (Yes, well done your carrying a burden). [482]

The special greetings proper to different ranks are given in the list of Tui Tonga and chiefly words.

Delicacy and circumlocution in referring to another's affliction are marked in Tongan conversation. An excellent example is afforded by Thomson's account (54, pp. 279-280) of a leper in Parliament. [195]

The act of registering fear, inferiority, subjection, repentance, or humility is called *hu*, which is done by placing a necklace of Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) leaves about the neck and sitting with bowed head and hands folded tightly in the lap. [554] [516]

To serve food on a green banana leaf, called *fakaloufusimata*, is a mark of distinction to the one so served. The term *malangafao* refers to the custom at a distribution of food of people rising to fill their baskets with food. Gifts presented at a feast are thrown down. 264 [576]

Men at times sit in the same style as Samoans, one foot on the opposite knee. The more usual style is tailor fashion. (See page 126.) 516 171

Babies are carried in a cloth slung over the back and passing under a woman's left arm and over her right shoulder. The baby is usually placed with both feet pointing to the left. They are carried astride the hip, too. 854

Men wear their shirts tucked inside of the *vala*, or skirt worn about the waist. This cloth is longer than the Samoan *lavalava*, reaching to below the knees and often nearly to the ankles. 291 [171]

Women wear their tunics hanging outside the *vala* around the waist.

Men frequently wear a flower, usually hibiscus, over the ear. 301

The eyebrows are frequently lifted in assent while listening to the conversation of another. 201

Diving into water from a height is done feet first, arms out. 481

Men shave the hair from the legs. 302

Women shave off the pubic hairs and pull out the axillary hairs.

Men use pieces of coconut husk as toilet wipers, while women use old tapa. The Samoans use stones, a custom regarded contemptuously by the Tongans. 514 [171]

Old men wear the hair shorter than young men. Women, after the menopause (*paa*), also wear the hair quite short. 302 [886]

ignorance of its being about to take place. He 628
acknowledged, however, that Toobo Toa con- 634
fided to him his intentions, and asked his assistance, which he promised: but that he had made this promise without meaning to fulfil it; thinking by this method to satisfy for a time the urgent solicitations of that chief: lest, not having made it, he should undertake the rash act before proper measures could be adopted to prevent it.

While he was yet speaking, his own wives and women, having been sent for, came and sat down behind him. His speech being ended, half an hour's silence ensued; nobody daring to deliver his sentiments. The company then rose, by Finow's order, and followed him to his house. As he passed the body, he ordered it to be lifted up and carried before him.
When the procession arrived, the body was 634
laid down on the outside of the house, and 764
washed all over with a mixture of oil and water
(as is always customary.) This office was per- [784]
formed by one of Finow's wives and Mr. Mariner; nobody else offering to do it, on account
of their objections to being *taboo'd* *. Finow's [643]

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* No person can touch a dead chief without being *taboo'd* [766]
for ten lunar months, except chiefs, who are only *taboo'd* [264]
for three, four, or five months, according to the superiority [565]
of the dead chief; except again it be the body of Tooitonga,
and then even the greatest chief would be *taboo'd* ten [643]

634 wife did not mind it, because she was already
764 *taboo'd* from having touched the dead body of
[784] the late Tooitonga nine months before, and had
[643] consequently got accustomed to the inconveniences of it; and Mr. Mariner did not hesitate to do this last office to his friend, because he had no superstitious fears of the consequences of not submitting to the *taboo.* The body, being washed, was brought into the house, laid on a large bale of *gnatoo,* and anointed with sandal wood oil. Toobó Nuba's widows (four in number) now came in to mourn over the dead body of their departed chief. They entered beating their breasts and faces, and screaming with all the agony and frantic agitations of mad women.
[533] They sat down close
[539] round the corpse, and in a most dismal strain began singing

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634 months, as was the case with Finow's wife above mentioned.
764 During the time a man is *taboo'd* he must not feed himself with his own hands, but must be fed by somebody else:
784 he must not even use a toothpick himself, but must guide another person's hand holding the toothpick.
766 If he is hungry and there is no one to feed him, he must go down upon
264 his hands and knees, and pick up his victuals with his
[565] mouth: and if he infringes upon any of these rules, it is
[643] firmly expected that he will swell up and die: and this belief is so strong that Mr. Mariner thinks no native ever made an experiment to prove the contrary.
[829] They often saw him feed himself with his hands after having touched dead chiefs, and not observing his health to decline, they attributed it to his being a foreigner, and being governed by different Gods.

687 now, and all the chiefs of Hapai, cursing them
763 in the most bitter manner *, and their fathers
727 for begetting them, and heaping maledictions
669 upon all their generation; he went on in this
manner, cursing and swearing at his enemies, till the water came up to his mouth, and, even then, he actually threw back his head for the opportunity of uttering another curse, spluttering the water forth from his lips, till it bereft him for ever of the power of speech. They were about twenty minutes sinking, after which the large canoe returned immediately to Vavaoo.

687 Booboonoo and Nowfaho were both men that
157 bore a most amiable character: in time of war
they were brave and enterprising; in time of peace, gentle and humane. The conduct of
[682] Nowfaho, in killing the poor Hapai woman,
[158] seems to make much against his humanity;

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* The curses used among the Tonga people are very nu-
[195] merous; but, for the most part, they are rather horrible
[264] commands than curses, and are, generally, in regard to
maltreating one's relations, or eating one's superior rela-
[266] tions; for it is considered a crime to eat food which a superior relation has touched; how much more, therefore, to eat that relation himself! For a sample;—"Bake your grandfather till his skin turns to cracknel, and gnaw his skull for your share!"—"Go, and ravish your own sister!"—"Dig up your father by moonlight, and make soup of his bones," &c. &c. Many of their sayings, in this way, are too indelicate to mention.

634 the *fytoca*. The provisions with which these
765 *tabooed* women and mourners in general are provided
784 were sent, on this occasion, with bales of
gnatoo, first to the young prince, by the different
634 chiefs and mataboolеs; the prince then ordered
765 the greater part of them to be sent to
784 the *tabooed* women: and they were accordingly
264 carried and placed on the ground, at some distance
from the grave, or else laid down before
the temporary house, to which the chief of the
tabooed women retires to be fed; and she orders
them to be distributed to the different chiefs
and matabooles, who again share them out in
the usual way. The fifth and tenth days of
such a ceremony are, however, marked by
a greater quantity of provision than ordinary
being sent, for which they give no reason but
that of custom. On the twentieth day there is
also an unusually large quantity sent; and this
is by way of finishing the funeral ceremony.
634 With these provisions they also send every day
765 a supply of *tomes*[*], to light up the *fytoca* during
[416] the night: these tomes are held by a woman,
[565] who, when fatigued with this office, is relieved
by another: those who take the light into their
[373] charge are of the lower ranks. They, as well
as the others, when not oppressed by sleep, in
general spend their time in talking upon in-

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[*] The tome is a sort of torch.

Foreigners are exempted from all tributes, except 577
those that are for the purpose of religious 565
ceremonies, even though they occupy considerable 431
plantations at Tonga: they also readily [651]
excuse foreigners for not according with their [609]
customs, or not paying respect to their gods;
because, say they, they have gods of their own,
and are not governed by our divinities. When 577
any one is about to eat, he always shares out 264
what he has to those about him, without any
hesitation, and a contrary conduct would be
considered exceedingly vile and selfish. At [609]
meals strangers or foreigners are always shewn [562]
a preference, and females are helped before
men of the same rank, because they are the
weaker sex and require attention. A number 577
of such instances might be given if necessary,
but these, it is presumed, are sufficient to demonstrate
that the people of the Tonga islands
are not only not selfish, but admire liberality,
and are practically liberal.

In such a kind of mind as we have been 771
describing, we may readily suppose that the 888
sentiments of veneration and respect are felt to 565
a considerable degree; and, accordingly, every

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manded; they love to consider them as presents, and this sufficiently demonstrates the universal admiration of the sentiment of liberality. There are no officers appointed to see that the people pay their due quantity.

276 through the whole liquid as not to be thus separated *.

276 During the above operation, various people
in the exterior circle are employed making cava
574 cups of the unexpanded leaf of the banana tree,
415 which is cut into lengths of about nine inches,
each piece being then unfolded is nearly square; the two ends are next plaited up in a particular manner, and tied with a fibre of the stem of the leaf, forming a very elegant cup, not unworthy of imitation. These leaves are provided beforehand, as well as the water, the bowl, &c. by the
276 cooks. Sometimes it happens that there is not
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[555] * No man undertakes to perform this operation at a large
party but who has been well practised on smaller occasions: for it is considered a great accomplishment, even worthy of a chief: but a failure on such an occasion would look very bad: Mr. Mariner, however, never witnessed one. The cava dregs which have been thus put aside are afterwards taken away by the cooks, and chewed over again to make fresh in-
[515] fusion for themselves. The disgusted reader will here per-
haps call to mind the assertion we have formerly made, that
[264] no nation can excel the Tonga people in personal cleanliness,
and will regret that they are not equally clean in their food. If this objection were made to a native, he would say, "it is "not indeed very cleanly, for we would not eat a piece of "yam which another had bitten; but chewing the cava is an "ancient practice, and we think nothing of it: but what," he will perhaps add, "can be more filthy and disgusting "than the Papalangi practice of drinking the milk of a beast, "and giving it to your children for food?"—Every country has its customs.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

left off, but commencing and going on with the 276
same individuals as if it were the first bowl; 574
the third in the like manner, &c. Every bowl 262
is provided with a fresh quantity of *fono*, or vic- 264
tuals to be eaten with the cava, and which are
shared out in the same way as before: these generally consist of yams, bananas, or plantains, but sometimes a baked pig is brought, in which case the liver and a yam is the portion presented to the chief; if fowls are brought, the skin of the throat, and the rump, are the president's share. If, before the conclusion, any one in the superior circle wishes to leave, he says to the chief, *Iky' teoo mow cava*, I cannot provide cava; and, with this apology, he leaves: or, if he has actually provided cava, he has only to state some reason for his leaving the company, such as going to another island, or to superintend some work.

It has been noticed, that there are two ma- 276
tabooles, one on each side of the president, 574
who direct the ceremonies; but it must be 565
mentioned, that only one of them regulates the preparation and sharing out of each bowl: i. e. one regulates the first bowl, and the other the second, and so on alternately. They generally sit close to the chief, except when Tooitonga presides, and then there is an intervening space, between him and them, of about six feet, or ra-

mony of *mbë-mbë*, before he will dare feed himself 784
with his own hands. This ceremony consists 565
in touching the soles of any superior chief's 788
feet with the hands, first applying the palm,
then the back of each hand; after which the
hands must be rinsed in a little water, or, if
there be no water near, they may be rubbed
with any part of the stem of the plantain or banana
tree, the moisture of which will do instead
of washing. He may then feed himself without [264
danger of any disease, which would otherwise 753]
happen, as they think, from eating with tabooed
hands: but if any one think he may have already
(unknowingly) eaten with tabooed hands, he
then sits down before a chief, and taking the
foot of the latter, presses the sole of it against
his own abdomen, that the food which is within
him may do him no injury, and that consequently
he may not swell up and die: this operation
is called *fota*, (i. e. to press.) It is tabooed 784
also to eat when a superior relation is present, 264
unless the back is turned towards him: for 565
when a person's back is turned towards another, 516
that other may be said, in one sense, not to be
in his presence: also to eat food which a superior
relation or chief has touched; and if
either of these *taboos* is accidentally infringed
upon, the ceremony of *fota* must be performed.
If any one is tabooed by touching the person 784
643
415
778

his possessions, and in the most earnest manner 103
entreated him to accept of something. Being 571
thus strongly pressed, the moderate Tootáwi 173
chose a wearing-mat of the kind called *gie fow* *, [292]
and this was the only article that the eloquence
and kindness of Finow could persuade him to
accept of. The king left him with sentiments
of admiration, and shortly after confirmed the
orders that had been formerly given to prevent
any body molesting him.

Thus lived Tootáwi for some three or four years afterwards; but one day he was found lying on the ground, stretched out dead within his cave.

But to return to our subject; about mid-day 512
it is usual to have another meal, when the [264]
chiefs receive a number of presents, of different [431]
kinds of provisions, from their dependents or [574]
friends, which the matabooles share out. In [521]
the afternoon some again join in conversation, [224]
others go out shooting rats, &c. In the evening
they have dancing and singing, which is 512
often continued till very late at night, on which 535
occasion they burn torches, each being held by [533]
a man, who, after a time, is relieved by another. [372]
These dances are generally kept up for about
four hours after dark. When no dances are 512
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* A certain kind of wearing-mat used chiefly in canoes, as it is not liable to be injured by sea-water. See p. 280.

512 proposed, they retire to rest at sun-set, after
513 bathing and oiling themselves, and even on
372 these occasions the houses are lighted up with
357 torches, during two, three, or four hours after
dark: these torches are held by female domes-
tics. It cannot be strictly said that they have
574 any fixed times for meals, though it generally
264 happens to be in the morning, about noon, and
431 again in the evening; but it depends greatly
565 upon how the chiefs are occupied, or what pre-
562 sents have been made to them: it frequently
609 occurs that several presents come at the same
time from different quarters; then they have a feast: but whatever they have, whether much or little, it is always shared out to all present, each having a portion according to his rank: strangers and females generally obtain somewhat more than is due to their rank. Those who get more than they want never fail to supply others who have not enough: selfishness is a very rare quality among them: if a man has a piece of yam, though it be not enough for a meal, he will readily give half away to any one who may want it; and if any body else comes afterwards in like need, with the greatest good nature he will give half the remainder; scarcely saving himself any, though he may be very hungry.

757 If during the day a chief, mataboole, or
565 mooa, but particularly a chief, finds himself fa-

539 **69. Paki ua uli taki taha vau:** Break in two—dirty. Each one
252 scrape.

264 Refers directly to food such as the yam which has been baked in the
embers. Ordinarily the yam, for instance, when taken from the fire would
first be scraped clean and then divided among those who are to eat it.
This indicates that there must be haste. The yam taken from the fire is
to be divided while the charred outside skin is still on, and each one will
[574] clean his piece for himself. One of the commonest motives urging to such
haste would seem to be the apprehension that an unwelcome visitor will
soon be coming to share in the meal. Generally of that which is to be
done quickly.

539 **70. Poto hono fijifiji kae vale hono fokifokihi:** Skilled at its flip-
252 ping but unskilled at its turning.

The Tongans flip cooking food with the nail of the fore-finger to test whether it is done or not. Food being cooked in the embers must be turned from time to time. The phrase indicates a man who does none of the work, is not willing to give the food a turn now and again, but is to the fore when it comes to finding out whether it is done or not. Obvious application to a lazy, greedy person.

539 **71. Talia a umu kape:** Waiting for a meal of *kape* (*Arum costa-*
262 *tum*).

[137] At certain stages of its growth the *kape* is too pungent: to be eaten.
Hungry men, therefore, may wait for a meal of this root to be cooked only
to find after all that they cannot eat it. So the expression is used of dis-
appointed expectation.

539 **72. Teka a ma momoko:** Chucking cold *ma* about.

252 *Ma*, applied now to European bread, is the fermented fruit of certain
plants, most commonly of the breadfruit, prepared by burying it in pits.
262 This method of treatment, which is falling into almost complete disuse,
251 was a very common and successful way of preserving a supply of food.
Not only was the uncooked food thus kept for an indefinite length of time,
but when cooked it remained good for a long period. One could throw
it about anyhow and it still turned up good when wanted again. So of
anything which, in spite of hard usage, is still good when wanted.

539 **73. Toki kovi a niu lelei:** Good nut is just bad.

262 Coconut is much used and highly esteemed in Tongan cookery. An
252 article of food which cannot be rendered palatable by coconut must be very
bad indeed. The upshot of cooking such a hopelessly unpalatable article
with nut is that so much good coconut is merely wasted. Generally of that
which is so extremely bad that contact with what is good cannot improve
it, but the whole lot is wasted and spoiled.

A story connected with this phrase is that the notorious cannibal
[264] Kaifakaau, who was alive at the time of the introduction of Christianity,
once tried the experiment of cooking the genital organs of a woman with

coconut, but found that he had produced a most unsavory dish and had to 539
throw it all away. He had merely wasted so much good coconut. 262
252
266

74. Ua ji ua pooi: Eating *ji* eating *pooi.*

The *pooi* is a preparation of food, which before the introduction of 539
sugar used to be sweetened with the root of the *ji (Cordyline terminalis).* 262
If one ate up the *ji* beforehand he would have to go without the *pooi.* You 263
cannot eat your cake and have it.

75. Umu toona e he vale: Food cooked by the fool. 539

Good food that has been spoiled by a bad cook; anything good that 252
has been spoiled by bad treatment.

EATING AND DRINKING

76. Aho kai fonu: Day on which turtle is eaten. 539

The turtle is a luxury, hence day of treat. It is said that this ex- 262
pression originated with a love adventure of the handsome Lepuha, who lived at Leimatua in Vavau. This good-looking and amorous gentleman came in his wanderings to the house of a woman who lived at the back part of the island, and whose face was disfigured by ulceration. Lepuha had intercourse with the unfortunate woman, who said to him as he was about to depart, "This is a day on which turtle has been eaten." Lepuha ungallantly replied, "*Mavae lua,*" that is, "Going away and vomiting," implying the disgust which he felt at having cohabited with so grievously disfigured a woman. This phrase, *Mavae lua,* is used proverbially for the after disgust one may feel at something he has done.

77. Mavae lua: Separating (and) vomiting. (See No. 76.)

78. Fakahali a vale: Making slip of foolish, that is, the foolish 539
person's way of making food slip down. 264

Fakahali, making slide, means moderate eating, but the moderation 183
of a foolish person, or of the improvident young, is to eat to repletion without a thought for the future or for anyone who may go hungry just beside him. Applied to eating the expression means to attend only to one's own appetite without regard for others or for the future. Used generally of improvident, foolish conduct, as of a man who is not a sailor going out by himself in a boat or of one who is not a carpenter undertaking to build a house.

79. Fakaua mea melie: Hungry for sweet things.

Baker renders: "To wish to eat sweet or superior food only." It might be used of one who desires only the good things of life.

539 264

80. Fakauloula kai: Doing a dance with the food.

A man who is distinguishing himself by fine trencher work, blissfully unaware that his performance is not giving as much satisfaction to his hosts or co-diners as to himself, may be called to his bearings by being asked not to do a dance with the food. An explanation has been offered to the effect that as the onlookers derive pleasure from the dance, so the greedy man behaves as though the spectators derived satisfaction from his exhibition. It may, however, be nothing more than a reference to the nimble movements that the food is being made to execute.

81. Fangafanga uu tau he tae: Preparing to eat, getting to rubbish.

Disappointed expectations, as of one who anticipates food, but finds that there is nothing but rubbish (literally dung) to eat.

539 565 622 554

82. Fie uo kae kaipo: Wanting friends (literally crowd) but selfish.

This is primarily applicable to the chiefs, about whom the people were wont to gather. A chief who treated his people kindly and fed them well would find many happy to live with him. A chief who selfishly ate the best of everything himself was not taking the right measures to attract about him a numerous body of followers. So used of a man who, for the sake of prestige or companionship, desires to have many people about him, but who is too selfish to treat them with that generosity which will win their esteem and make them contented to live with him.

539 262

83. Hange ha inu vai lolo: Like drinking oil liquid, that is, liquid adjunct to food into whose composition the expressed milk of the coconut has entered.

Coconut enters very largely into the preparation of native dishes and is also used alone as a relish to yams and vegetables in default of meat. The phrase indicates one who, if nothing better is offering, is quite ready to enjoy his food with a little coconut milk as the only relish. So used of a man who is easy to suit in the matter of food, and who shows no fastidious preferences.

539 272 273 177

84. Inu ti inu kota, Kakapapalangi fakatonga: Drink tea, drink *kota;* European fashion, Tongan fashion.

The *kota* is an infusion of fermented coconut which has been ground and strained. The phrase, which is of course modern, indicates one who at one time is anxious to adopt European standards and modes of life and at another clings to the old Tongan ways.

539 264

85. Jii a maanga ngako: Small mouthful (but) fat.

A small quantity of food which is tasty and luscious. Used generally of that which is small in quantity but of excellent quality. (Compare No. 203.)

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) / 1922
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86. Kai-aji fakatuha umu: Diner-out correspondent with food. 539

A man who keeps his eyes open and regulates his visits to other 574
people's homes to correspond well with the times when a meal is to be
got. (Compare No. 187.)

87. Kai halafaki: Eating on the short-cut.

This is not a very satisfactory translation. The word *halafaki* means 539
to go round by some other track and wait on ahead for those who are 264
coming along the ordinary road. As applied to eating the idea is to take
food before the regular meal comes on, and thus to get ahead of others,
waiting with satisfied hunger for them to catch up.

88. Kai malo ta-foa: Eating kindness that wounds. 539

Indicates a kindness that is spoiled by the way in which it is done, 431
as of one who makes a present of food to another but accompanies his 578
gift with unkind remarks. The recipient may eat the food but he is 576
wounded by what it said to him. So generally of apparent gratification
with that which hurts.

89. Kai meakai kovi: Eat bad food. 539

Get into trouble, be in difficulties. 264
183

90. Kai mea vevela: Eat hot stuff, that is, to get into trouble.

91. Kai melie: Sweet food.

Used of that which is specially good, or of persons of unusual excellence. It is used of Goliath in the best translation of the Bible into Tongan (that of the late Dr. J. E. Moulton).

92. Kai umu aipe foi i he ngaue ae malohi: Coward ever eating 539
food through the work of the strong. 264

One of those bitter plaints, common the world over, of one man doing 571
the work and braving the danger whilst another reaps the benefits.

93. Kaikai afua: Eating delicately, with special likes and dis- 539
likes. 264

Especially refers to the desire of a pregnant woman for particular 843
foods, and used proverbially of conduct like that of a pregnant woman, or
befitting a pregnant woman.

94. Koe kai ika pe ae jio ki motu: All the fish eating is looking 539
at (or thinking about) an island. 484

If one stays at one of the small out-islands he will probably be well 262
placed to get as much fish as he wants. Should one wish to go away for 152
a holiday on an island, and enjoy the plentifulness of fish, but finds him-

539 484 262 152 self unable to make the trip, as for example, through lack of a boat, it is said of him that all the fish he will be able to get will be by thinking about the island; he will have a purely imaginative treat. The expression is used of unsatisfied desires generally, as of a man who wishes to marry a particular woman but can get no further in his courtship than going to visit her and seeing where she lives.

539 264 183 95. **Koto kai a kui:** All the eating of a blind man; the reckless eating of a blind man.

Used of that which is done recklessly, ignorantly, like the blind man who cannot see to choose his food, but eats what his hand lights on.

96. **Kuhu te elo pato te emo:** Puffing at the stink smacking in licking, that is, to utter the wry-faced "pugh" characteristic of one offended by a bad smell, and at the same time to make the clicking or smacking noise of one who is licking up food.

Used of those who eat bad food in spite of its offensiveness.

[197 192] Linguistically this is very interesting. The word "*te*" is apparently the article found in Maori and many other Polynesian languages (Hawaiian, *ke*) although not found, at least as an ordinary article, in either Tongan or Samoan.

97. **Longo moe fatu:** Silent with the belly.

Applied to one who sits silent under rebuke, making no effort to exculpate himself, but whilst he is thus tacitly accepting the blame of what is charged against him, he is also enjoying its benefits. The original idea is that of one who has eaten to full satisfaction where he had no right to eat. When reprimanded he sits silent accepting the blame, but he sits silent with a full belly.

539 262 554 98. **Pani puaka pani fonu:** Smeared with pig, smeared with turtle.

The pig and the turtle are favorite and valuable delicacies and will be found more in the abodes of the chiefs than anywhere else. For anyone to carry about on his person the smell of this rich fare is a sign that he is a person of some consequence.

539 829 99. **Nifo tuu he vale:** Teeth in a foolish man.

Good instruments thrown away on one who cannot use them. The wise man procures food for his teeth to chew, but the fool is unable to make this provision.

539 461 100. **Pipiko moe nifo:** Lazy with the teeth, lazy although there are teeth.

Men have teeth with which to eat, and hands with which to work and to get that which will satisfy the teeth. This is used of a lazy man

who refuses to work and get that which will meet the legitimate demands 539
of the teeth. 461

101. Teu ke hihi kae ola: About to cut out but gnawing. 539

This refers primarily to the coconut. A nut has been split open in 264
order to cut the flesh out with a knife when someone greedily seizes it 576
and chews the flesh out with his teeth, a thing befitting an animal or bad-mannered man. May be applied to a thing which is about to be carried out in a proper, decent way, but is actually done in an unseemly manner.

PRESENTING, BEGGING, KEEPING FOOD

102. Kai pe lea: Just eating speech. 539

Used of a man for whom there is no portion when the food pre- 264
sented to a chief is divided and distributed, but to whom the chief speaks. 554
The individual thus honored by the chief will feel that he has after all some part in the ceremony although he has not received a present of food.

103. Koe ma ka te mate: Ashamed, but I'll die. 539

Used in the first place of begging food. What is the use of being 431
ashamed to ask for food, seeing that if you do not get it you will die, or 735
be very hungry. (It is very common in Tongan to say that one is *mate*, dead, of hunger, thirst, of desire for some thing, without indicating any extreme stress.) This expression is applied generally to making requests of any kind.

104. Motu ka nae navei: Broken but it was bound. 539

Navei are small cords passed through the top of a basket, especially 415
of food, and fastened round the pole on which it is slung. These cords 482
are not the main lashing, which is a long cord or vine passing several times round the basket and pole. The idea is that although the large lashing has been adjusted yet it is well to avoid risks by adding these auxiliary bindings. The expression has this sense of making assurance doubly sure. Sometimes the phrase is rendered, *Motu ka nae kavei,* which has the same meaning as the above except that the *kavei* is the main lashing. This, which seems to be more familiar to the younger generation of Tongans, may be applied to a mishap which has not been the effect of negligence.
There has been an accident but those whose business it was to look after [829]
the matter in question evidently did their work carefully and thoroughly.

105. Pula a kaiaji: Sending a forager. 539

When one is sent to procure food for a party he will be the first to 156
eat of what he has obtained. So used of one who is the first to reap the 571
advantage of something that he has been sent to do, or to get.

106. Ua ma kae mae ma: Eat *ma* but be careful of *ma*. 539

Ma is the food made from fermented fruit. This expression indi- 262
cates literally one who has a supply of *ma* of his own, but is very sparing 183
571

539 of it, and when he wants to eat, begs food from someone else. Generally
262 of selfish behavior of this sort. (Compare No. 134.)
183

571 **107. Tufa kau tufa:** Distribute. I'll distribute.

539 Primarily refers to one who is not satisfied with the share which falls
431 to him in a distribution of food or goods, but who promises himself to even
571 things up when his turn comes to direct the apportionment of gifts. Go ahead now with your distribution and give me this miserable little portion, but the time will come when I have my turn at dividing and it will be a small gift that you will get then. Thence used generally of tit for tat.

108. Tuku umu fakavajivaji: To leave food in the Vajavaji way.

Vajivaji is the name of a people in Fiji, who when they take a present of food to anyone have the custom of waiting to get a portion for themselves. This has become proverbial in Tonga for giving a thing and then asking for a portion of it.

539 **109. Umu pouli kae ai hoota:** Food in the dark but with a friend
264 there.

572 When food is taken up from the oven in the dark there will be more or less of a scramble in which some are likely to come off badly, but a man who has been so placed that he cannot very well look after himself will yet fare very well if he has a well placed friend who is mindful of his interests. It is applicable to those cases, very numerous in civilized as in more primitive societies, where in the distribution of favors the influential man on the spot remembers his less advantageously situated friend.

539 **110. Uto taunga mo kuma oku ua:** Coconut pith put away to
262 keep and two rats.

The *uto* is the sweet spongy substance inside a coconut which has germinated. It is frequently eaten, as a sweetmeat rather than as a regular food, and was particularly used to pacify children. Should some of this be put away to keep for another occasion and one rat find it out there will probably be something left over for the original owners, but if two or more rats get to work on it the whole will soon be finished. So the expression is used of anything which the owner is reserving for himself, and which other people, not merely a single person whose appetite might be satisfied while there is still something left, but a number, find out and wholly consume.

DOING OF TASKS. CRITICISM

539 **111. Fai faka-muomua-nima:** Do with front of hand.

461 Doing a task half-heartedly, touching it, as it were, only with the tips of the fingers instead of grasping it heartily and sincerely with the whole hand. (Compare No. 416.)

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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145. Liu ka moko: Lizard climbing upside down. 539

The lizard comes down a tree head first, and there is occasionally a 825
man so skillful in climbing that he is able to imitate the reptile in this. To 554
such a man this expression would be applied, but it is used generally of one who has some special way of his own of doing some particular feat or who possesses some extraordinary skill that enables him to bring off feats that the ordinary mortal would scarcely attempt.

146. Moko looa: Choking lizard. 539

Applied to a person whose neck is stretched out like that of the lizard 825
in his distressful attempts to swallow. (Compare Nos. 167 and 177.) [264]

147. Kuma aka ki he pusi: Rat kicking at the cat. [571]

Generally of the weak behaving presumptuously to the strong. [157]

148. Pekopeko a pusi kai moa: Quiet mournfulness of a cat that 539
eats fowls. 825

The hypocrisy of one whose sad-eyed propriety in the presence of 829
others is belied by the mischief to which he readily turns when free from 577
observation is likened to the conduct of the cat whose demure abstention 157
from chicken flesh does not outlast the presence of human observers. (The cat, with its English name *pusi*, is a late introduction.)

149. Pakau a puaka tuu a: Leanness of a pig kept in a sty. 539

The pig kept in a sty does not become so fleshy as the pig allowed 825
to wander freely, but when put to the test of eating the pig from the sty 231
is found to have more fat on him than his brother who enjoyed greater 262
liberty. So used of that which is lean to the eye but is found to have much fat.

150. Puaka ne maa toe fakapelepela: A pig that was clean again 539
covered with mud. 825

Equivalent to the Biblical saying about the sow that had washed turn- 231
ing to wallowing in the mire, and possibly a translation of it.

151. Pukepuke a fufula: Grasping a big fat pig.

This is a task that demands the whole of one's strength and care. Tradition says that a big prime pig used to be kept in a sty in Taanea in Vavau, and that Maui Atalanga and his son Maui Kijikiji went to get it. As the younger Maui went to lay hands on the animal his father exhorted him to grasp it firmly lest it escape. This incident, however, does not seem to be claimed as the origin of the expression.

152. Hage ha fononga pulumokau: Like a troop of cattle.

Pulu-mo-kau, bull-and-cow, is used as a name for either bull or cow.
It is of course recent. Applied particularly to great waves at sea and also [823]
generally to large things.

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certainly be smashed but her human occupants have a chance of life. 539
Human life is more valuable than any boat. 502
[181]

252. Hange ha fana fotu: Like a mast that shows up. 539

Refers to a tall mast which stands out clearly among other masts and 501
which appears for a long distance at sea. Used of that which is obvious. "Plain as mud in a wine glass," "Plain as the nose on your face." (Compare No. 331.)

253. Hange ha lingi lolo ki ha tahi peaua: Like pouring oil on 539
a rough sea. 823

The Tongans have long been familiar with the effect of oil on rough water. Sometimes if no oil were at hand but coconuts were available they would chew coconut flesh and spit it out on to the rough sea. The metaphorical application is identical with the English, "Pouring oil on the troubled waters."

254. Hao he afa kae ngoto he tofu: Safe from the hurricane but 539
sunk in the calm. 829

This picture of a boat surviving great peril but perishing in calm through the folly or carelessness of her crew is applicable in the same way as the like idea is in English.

255. Kanakana fai ki tahi: Eating carried out at sea. 539

At sea some people are sick and cannot eat. A greedy man might 264
put off eating till at sea knowing that some of his party who would have 505
enjoyed food ashore will have no inclination for it at sea, and that thus 571
there will be the more left for himself.

256. Ka ne faifai kau faka-hamahama: If it had been that I had 539
acted *hama* fashion. 501
461

The *hama* was the leeward boat in the double canoe, also the outrigger in the single canoe. In the double canoe the *hama* is smaller than the windward boat and is less used for passengers and cargo. Employed here to indicate a failure to act to the full extent of one's capacity. Used by one who has done his utmost and has accomplished a difficult task. If I had not done my best (I could not have done what I have done).

257. Kataki e mama moe hopohopokia: Eating a leak with seas 539
coming on board. 505

Kataki is to eat one thing as relish to another. In this expression the 264
seas coming over the side are the relish to the leak. To be involved in the double danger of a leak and rough sea. Generally of a double misfortune or peril.

539 **281. Tangata e taha oe vaka:** One man in the boat.
461
561
562

Only one able-bodied man on the job; all the rest are women and children or old men. Everything on the shoulders of this one man.

539 **282. Tata tuli vaka:** Beating (of the native drum) chasing boat.
501
534

It was common for the sailing canoes to have a drum on board with which arrivals and departures were announced. When two boats were racing and one was on the point of overtaking the other the drum on the overtaking boat was beaten in a particular way. (There were many different ways of beating the drums in accordance with the purpose for which they were sounded.) This beat of approaching victory naturally spurred [461] the crew to their highest efforts. So of the exultant energy which is put into a task which is on the point of being carried through to a successful conclusion.

539 **283. Ta tefito mei ama:** Strike root from the leeward canoe.
571
264
[501]

This expression, which means to kill a man or woman for food, does not seem to have passed into proverbial use. Roots are the stand-by in times of famine. In the leeward canoe were mostly found the passengers, largely women, who were not occupied in the working of the vessel. To strike a root from the leeward canoe, therefore, was to replenish the larder by a foray amongst the passengers.

The phrase occurs in the tale of the voyage to Tonga from Fiji of Tui Motuliki, the son of Sinailele and the bones of the two Maui, Atalanga and Kijikiji, accompanied by the chief of Bau, Nokelevu. Each day during the voyage when it was reported to Nokelevu that the oven was hot he would order his people to strike a root from the leeward canoe and a man would thereupon be slain and eaten.

539 **284. Tefua a vaka Lautala:** Gathering together of the boats of Lautala.
571
183

This proverb does not seem to be any longer in use. Baker renders it: "Clever hands gathered together at any work," in accordance with a present-day explanation that it indicates things not large but valuable and strong.

Lautala is the name of an anchorage or beach on the island of Haano in the Haapai group. If this is the Lautala referred to it would seem to have been a place noted for boat-building or seamanship. An informant who has Fijian blood in him referred the expression to the island of Lautala near Suva in Fiji. This is but a small island, and he explained the phrase as probably meaning that when the boats of Lautala are gathered together their utmost might is a thing of no account to the powerful chiefs in the neighboring localities. There does not seem much support for this interpretation, but the reference to the Fijian islet may be correct, especially if its people were famed as boat-builders, a matter about which we [648] have no information. Tongans frequently get boats from Fiji. For the [501] meaning "small but valuable" compare Nos. 85 and 203.

8: Collocott & Havea   M, I-5   (no date)   1922
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another but none of them enduring long. The same expression is also used, 539
for example, for the rattling of the lid on a pot of boiling water. 821
183

301. Kai tae tala: Eating without telling.

Apparently this indicates primarily one who quietly takes food and eats 539
it without inviting anyone to share it with him, or perhaps one who takes 264
and eats food that belongs to another without saying anything to the owner. 422
The expression is used now only of a wind that comes up suddenly without [821]
warning, although in this sense, of course, it is capable of a wide range of
metaphorical employment.

302. Lau matangi fai i fale: Reckoning wind done in house. 539

Statements made by those who have not taken the measures necessary 821
to ensure that their opinion is worth hearing. [571]

303. Tokelau i fale: North in house.

Used of one who sitting inside a house talks about the wind, that it is
north or south, without going outside to see how it actually is. So used of [829]
the man who freely gives his opinion about matters whose true state he has
not the means to ascertain.

304. Toka mono agai: Prepared with (for ?) its opposite.

A wind which blows in one direction but is certain to go around to [132]
another quarter, as do the strong gales that sometimes blow in Tonga
during the summer months. Generally of things and circumstances that are [183]
bound to shift and be of a character opposite to that which they were
at first.

305. Hala pe Vai ka ko Vai: The rain has missed but there will 539
be rain. 821

Vai-mua (Earlier rain, or water) and *Vai-mui* (Later rain, or water) 805
are the names of two moons in the Tongan calendar, corresponding roughly
to February and March. If the rain expected in the former of these two [132]
wet months fails to appear there is still the later wet month to look for
ward to. It is a counsel of courage, bidding us not lose heart immediately
on the failure of one expected opportunity.

306. Tanaki kai fai ki Vai: Collecting food for *Vai*, the rainy 539
months, about February or January and March, when the native 261
food supply is low. 183

This is an expression of careless indifference, almost of reproof, to [132]
deter one who desires to save food for another time. Why save? Let the
lean months look after themselves.

307. Ka ai ha ofa pea tali ki Uluenga: If there is any kindness 539
(to do) then wait till Uluenga. 571

Uluenga is the name of one of the Tongan divisions of the year, about 183
October or November, when the food supply is scanty. The idea, therefore, [805]

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539 **354. Faka-Niuniua-foou:** Niua Foou fashion.
184 Tongans generally do not ask a stranger his name directly but ask a
576 third person who knows him, whereas the people of Niua Foou make no
574 scruple of a point blank inquiry. Hence to ask anybody his name directly
276 is to act in the Niua Foou way. There is a special application to kava drinking. The *matabule* who is directing the brewing and distribution of the drink may not know the names of all present. A very common proceeding in such as case is to quietly inquire of one sitting near who so-and-so is; but he may say "We'll do Niua Foou way," and then without further invitation the strangers will each tell their names, or someone who knows them will name them out.

OTHER LOCALITIES

539 **355. Faji pe jila tuku ki Manono:** Boom broken—leave it to
183 Manono, or boom broken, impute it to Manono.

Either of these expressions is a literal translation of the words. The origin of the phrase is obscure, but it is applied in two ways, in accordance with the two translations given: 1. When a thing is broken, leave it to such a one, or to certain people who are skilled craftsmen and will mend it; 2. When a thing is broken, impute the blame for the mishap to so-and-so.

539 **356. Hange ha tama Polataane:** Like a British man.
829 This indicates one of martial aspect. Presumably the Tongans in the
177 days of their first contact with European seamen grew accustomed to the sight of fully armed landing parties.

539 **357. Koe aho ni ape e tuku ki Uvea:** Today apparently is to be
643 left to Uvea.
466 When the Tui Tonga had a big piece of work on hand, as for example
264 building or repairing his boat, the *Akiheuhe*, the duty of feeding the car-
823 penters was apportioned among the various districts in rotation, even as far as Uvea. The Uveans lived a long way off, and on their day the workmen frequently went hungry. So on any day when it was not clear whether any food would be forthcoming for them or not the carpenters were wont to say, "H'm, looks as though today were being left to Uvea." Used generally of uncertainty whether a desired event will happen or not.

539 **358. Ko Vaihi e:** That's Hawaii.
823 Indicates that which is far off and impossible. Much as English people speak of asking for the moon. "Did you get such a thing?" "That's Hawaii," that is, I have as much chance of getting that as I have of
[177] getting Hawaii. We are unable to say with certainty, but think it probable that this name Vaihi is no old recollection preserved in Tongan tradition,
[609] but a recent innovation since the visits of European vessels. A variation of this is *Ko Vaihi matalohelu*, that is, yellow-eyed, or yellow, Hawaii; but we do not know the reason of the epithet.

480. **Tala tae fai tuunga:** Talk without making standing place, that is, to report something without adducing grounds of belief. 539 829 521

481. **Tala tae fakaejia:** Talk without putting a handle to it, that is, to tell something without adducing any proof or grounds of belief.

Baker understands the "handle" to one's talk to refer to appropriate action following on words, and translates the phrase, "To say and do not; to say one thing but do the contrary." The expression probably lent itself to both uses.

482. **Tauange mo koe:** I sincerely desire of you. 539

This is hardly a proverbial expression but is freely used in earnest entreaty. 521

483. **Vale tala vale:** Fool telling fool; one fool upbraiding another for his folly.

Used like similar expressions in English. (See No. 427.)

483a. **Oku longo a Tonga:** Tonga is silent.

Tongans are not in the habit of talking while eating and so this phrase is applied jocularly to a party of Tongans sitting silent at a meal. It is said to have been first applied by Fijians. [264]

DISEASE AND MEDICINE

484. **Avanga kai ate:** Possession (by a spirit) consuming liver. 539

The liver is reckoned the seat of life and of at least some of the passions. The term *avanga* is applied to those illnesses which are caused by demonic possessions. Proverbially this phrase is applied to the yearning and distress of intense love. 826 753 787

It is worthy of note that in ceremonies the liver of a slaughtered pig is taken and presented to the chief. This is stated to be a presentation to the chief of the whole of the pig's life. (See also No. 485.) [832] [622] [825]

485. **Kuo toona hoku ate:** My liver is baked. 539

This indicates distress. My life is consumed, wasted away. 826

486. **Foki mei he uhi:** Returning from the *uhi.* 539

Restoration to health from an apparently hopeless sickness. The *uhi* *(Evodia hortensis)* is largely used in native medicine, so largely that it perhaps stands here as the type of a drug which will be tried without much expectation of its proving efficacious when the practitioners are at their wits' end. 757 [137]

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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554. Fele a toua: *Toua* is widely scattered, that is, a multitude 539
in the *toua.* 276

The *toua* (pronounced to-wa) are those who sit where the kava is 554 prepared in a kava ceremony; they are, for the most part, people of no rank and do not drink the kava, that privilege being reserved for their superiors in the *alofi*, or chiefly circle. This expression then indicates a big crowd of people who do not count for much.

555. Fufu mo kokohu: Clapping (the hollowed hands) and dust 539
rising. 276

When there is a shortage of kava the people are constrained to use the little rootlets projecting from the thick part of the main root which in times of plenty they would throw away. To cleanse these rootlets of adhering earth they are rubbed in the hands, then held in the hollow of one hand while the other hand is beaten down on top of them, thus causing dust to arise. This expression is used in a deprecating way by a man who has only a small piece of kava to offer to his friends, and indicates that with this small piece he is completely at the end of his resources.

556. Molumalu faka-fono: Good appearances, *fono* fashion.

The *fono* is the food served with the kava. The distribution of food [264] with kava is frequently a mère formality to comply with ceremonial requirements, and the little food given out is seldom eaten. The phrase indicates [576] therefore appearances that are only appearances without any solid backing of substance.

557. Nofo e fononga kae eke kava: The visitors having no 539
share, but asking for kava; or perhaps more intelligibly, asking 276
for kava, but the visitors having no share in it (literally, the 574
visitors sitting, that is, just sitting quiet without part or lot in
what is going on).

If guests arrive at one's house it is proper to prepare kava to greet them. This phrase indicates one who should ask for and obtain kava but then takes it off and uses it for some other purpose, neglecting the obvious duty of polite hospitality of preparing the beverage to greet his visitors.

WAR

558. Fakalali pakola: Like drum of prisoners of war, that is, 539
the peculiar beating of the drum indicating that prisoners had 727
been taken. 266

Cannibalism was only sporadic in Tonga, and never widespread. The word *pakola* is of Fijian introduction, and in Fiji indicated prisoners of war designed for the oven. Baker considers it an introduced word from Fiji, [177] used in a low way for "Die, you wretches." In Fiji, therefore, the *pakola* [192] drum would seem to indicate that the butcher was about to call, but such a meaning can never have been general in Tonga.

175 the Kava to Duatonga, or any of his family, all of
276 whom are considered sacred, they must sit down
574 cross-legged, before they deliver it out of their
[643] hands.

[516] During the preparation of the Kava, the Tomaagee,
or principal servants of the chief, are busily
[252] employed in an out house built for the purpose, in
[264] baking yams. These, as soon as ready, they bring
in baskets, made of entwined leaves, and lay them
[285] before the chief and the circle of guests as far as they
[262] go. They eat these yams after drinking the Kava;
[521] and during their meal talk with each other, as they
please, on different subjects.

Whenever the lower orders can procure the Kava,
175 they always drink it in companies in this festive
565 manner; in which they often spend the two or three
276 first hours of the morning. They have this pleasure,
574 however, but seldom, as the chiefs generally exact
it of them, to drink it with their brother chiefs and
175 their attendants. They exercise an arbitrary power
565 over the lower orders, and have every thing belonging
421 to them in their power, which their sub-officers
take from them, without ceremony, as the
175 chief may need. Though the provision they have
565 by them be ever so scanty, they are required to cook
261 a part of it for the chief; so that they are frequently
obliged to eat the root of the plantain-tree, for a
[262] wretched subsistance, or to resort to the chief, and
beg some food. The chief will send his attendants

spending the day plaiting mats. They will sit down to their 512
main meal of the day some time during the evening when 461
Hausia returns from the bush carefully carrying the women's 592
portion of the food baked during the day and set aside (264)
before the men began to eat their bush feast.

Avai's household has not been working in the bush. 512
The men are busy roasting a large pig which will occupy 461
the position of honour in a gift they are preparing to carry 592
to the village of Makave, some three hours distant. Avai's 431
mother's brother's wife died in Makave last November 765
(three months ago). It is now time for Avai's mother to 484
remember this event by the gift to the deceased's family of a large pig, an equally large root of green *kava* and a quantity of bark cloth. The party set off for Makave about noon; Avai with the *kava*-root and his sister on one horse, a friend Tevita with the roast pig on a second, and Sesoni (cross-cousin to Avai's mother) with the bark cloth on the third horse. The walking party was made up of Avai's mother, her husband and her daughter, the local pastor of the Church of Tonga (the family church) and the pastor's son. When the party arrives on the outskirts of Makave, the pig will be slung on a stout pole and carried thus on the shoulders of two of the men to the honoured house. The party is all dressed in best Sunday clothes. The pig is large and juicily fat. It will make a brave show as the men stagger with it through the village, going the longest and most roundabout way until the procession comes at last to rest before the bereaved household. This is as it should be. For why, says the villager, trouble to implement social and economic obligations if all do not know, talk about, and appreciate your generosity?

Biukala and Beni Kautai and their two households, about 512
twenty men, women and children, have had a holiday today. 592
They went for a " picnic " to a distant beach, a feast really, 527
to honour relatives visiting from a distant village. They 461
went with the early morning tide in a borrowed, flat-bottomed copra-boat, and returned late this evening when the tide was high again. We hear the laughing, shouting party as it returns across the lagoon and then as it straggles in a long line up the hill from the beach, children and adults excitedly talking among themselves. A little while later when we walk past Biukala's house all is silent. Young and

the four records were used in the form of coconut-cream 262
in which the staples were boiled. No informant bothered to 592
list the number of drinking nuts used because, for him, the nuts were equivalent to water in the diet. The meat eaten was canned. The fish eaten was mostly fresh, helped out by canned salmon and herring. The reef-food eaten as a relish by two of the families included shell-fish, jelly-fish, octopus, seaweed and other edible reef-material.

In addition to this food actually consumed by members 262
of the household, further food was on some days collected 592
from the gardens and distributed in the gift-exchange. Thus 574
family B was visited for two days by the sister of the 431
household head, her husband and two children. When these visitors left, the household head presented them with a gift of about fifteen pounds of *taro* and one large pig. Food to [231]
feed the pigs would also have to be collected: about fifty mature coconuts for each pig would be the amount used in this connection.

The specific amounts of food harvested and used by one 252
of these families (household D) is given in the next table. 262

TABLE 7.—HOUSEHOLD FOOD 592
264

Date	Time	Way Prepared	Food—Number of Tubers *Taro*	Plantain	Green Bananas	*Kape*	*Manioke*	*Papaia*	Reef Foods Baskets
Jan. 23	Morning	Boiled	30	13	30	—	—	—	1
	Evening	Boiled	20	10	25	—	—	—	—
Jan. 24	Morning	Boiled	40	15	45	—	—	—	1
	Evening	Boiled	20	—	40	—	—	—	1
Jan. 25	Morning	Boiled	45	—	50	—	—	—	1
	Evening	Boiled	30	—	40	—	—	—	1
Jan. 26	Morning	Oven	50	—	—	2	—	15	2
	Evening	Boiled	—	50	17	—	—	—	—
Jan. 27	Morning	Boiled	37	—	40	—	—	—	—
	Evening	Boiled	29	—	20	—	—	—	—
Jan. 28	Morning	Boiled	50	22	19	—	—	—	—
	Evening	Boiled	25	17	—	—	—	—	—
Jan. 29	Morning	Oven	—	—	—	7	30	10	1
	Evening	Boiled	—	—	—	3	—	—	—

This table suggests very vividly the dietary of the 262
Pangai people. For five days there is a steady diet of *taro*, plantain, and green bananas with additional shell-fish relish. For each meal of these five days the staples were prepared [252]
by boiling in a kerosene tin with coconut-cream (64 mature

262 [226] half of its meals. Women in the other households were apparently not prepared or not able to spend any or much time on the reef.

[252] The staple fruit for all households at this time of the year is papaia, generally eaten after being baked in an oven. Oranges are beginning to ripen at this time but the villager is barely interested in them. Ripe bananas are reserved for [439] [434] feast-occasions and for possible export in order to increase the money-income of the household. One family in the village raises pineapples, but these are for export only.

Chicken and pork figure but rarely in the day-to-day diet. They are reserved for feast-occasions. The average villager probably eats either or both about once a week or even more occasionally, depending upon the frequency of feast-opportunities.

264 178 Formerly, food was always eaten outside of the dwelling or sleeping-house. Today, this is still general practice. People eat in the cook-house, or under raised sun-shelters, or in the open air. Some few of the villagers, however, will sometimes serve a special feast inside the dwelling-house. There appears to be no particular reaction to this on the part of their guests although their forefathers of not many generations back would surely have felt horror if invited to enter a dwelling-house and there eat food.

262 264 121 114 In his study of the psychodynamics of Marquesan society,[13] Kardiner uses as one piece of evidence for the existence in the Marquesas of food-anxieties the fact that "notwithstanding the adequacy of techniques of and organization for production . . . there is first of all an over-valuation on eating itself, the emphasis falling on bulk and not on quality." Whatever the value of the other evidence that Kardiner adduces (cannibalism, *tapu* surrounding eating and cooking, etc.), one is inclined to suspect on the basis of this Tongan material that the facts of quantity-eating must be used with great caution when applied to a Polynesian people if inferences are to be drawn regarding fundamental food-anxieties in a Polynesian culture. In the first instance the Tongan tends to eat but one major meal

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[13] Kardiner, A., *The Individual and His Society*, New York, 1939, 220.

262 264 121 114 each day (the second meal is regarded more as a light "snack" than as a true meal). It is natural that he should eat in quantity just to satisfy an appetite sharpened by a day of hard physical labour on his plantation. Probably also, he must eat in quantity to secure sufficient food-elements in a dietary that is made up largely of vegetable staples. In this dietary quality-food is largely absent. It would be difficult, therefore, for the Tongan to show anything but an emphasis on quantity to the exclusion of quality.

262 178 Probably the quality of Tongan food could be improved by a return to old-time methods of preparing and cooking food. But it is doubtful whether the Tongan would eat any less even though the quality of his food were thus improved. As far as improving the quality of food is concerned through greater variety of vegetable and animal staples, this is impossible for the Tongan without radically upsetting the whole basis of his subsistence-economy.

262 264 121 114 We apparently do not have comparable figures which would show the amount of food eaten by a labourer in our own society during each day. One suspects that were this amount known and all eaten during the course of one main meal, then the quantity of food consumed by this labourer might not differ greatly from the quantity of food eaten by the Tongan during his one main daily meal. This Tongan material suggests, therefore, that even though the Tongan eating-emphasis falls on bulk, this may be largely due, not to food-anxiety (though other factors may still produce food-anxieties in the Tongan village-culture), but to the fact that the villager eats but one large meal each day of a diet that is deficient in quality-foods. Further analysis of Marquesan eating-habits might, in sum, lead to this conclusion also, and suggest even more general Polynesian characteristics in regard to eating-habits that would demand a psychodynamic explanation in terms other than an emphasis on underlying food-anxiety.

FEASTS

574 527 The various feast-occasions are mentioned throughout this text, specially in the sections on the life-cycle, where the functional and symbolic interrelations of feasts with the validation of special or critical situations

grave-pebbles and sand to decorate further the grave. On 765
the tenth day, the close male relatives prepare a large feast 602
to bring this mourning period to a close *(fakamalele ae putu)*.
The food is kept until nightfall when all the young boys and 765
girls in the village, all the unmarried youth, that is, from 602
puberty onwards, are invited to come to the deceased's house 574
there to dance, sing and be joyful. The older people sit 276
drinking *kava* and watching the fun. After the first making
of the *kava*, the feast is divided among all present, young
and old. The merry-making and *kava*-drinking continue
until an early hour in the next morning. Then the people
gather up their food-divisions and return home. The period
of mourning is over. Relatives return to their own villages,
if they have come from afar. The everyday life of the
village can renew itself.

For the death of an important individual in the village, 765
this ten-day mourning-period is considered sufficient. During [784]
this time it is *tapu* for anyone in the village to sing, dance,
or make bark cloth. For an important noble, the mourning-
period may last for six months or more. The status of the 765
deceased is shown by the length of his mourning-period and 565
the consequent *tapu* on any joyful activities or on bark cloth 554
making. 784

Semisi, the resident village undertaker *(ha'a tufunga)* 764
is of no high social class. He inherited his skill from his
father who was undertaker before him. Semisi would not 767
attempt to embalm a body. He limits his job to the arrangement of the corpse in the house (if this is necessary) and to
a general superintendence over the burial. For his services
Semisi is paid with bark cloth, mats, and food. Semisi has 767
the right to the honorific name of Manafa, a name conferred 554
on him by the high chief Lepakuku of the village of Leimatua.
This name not only increases Semisi's importance in the
village—it is the name by which he is called in a *kava* circle—
but it gives him the right to practice undertaking anywhere
in Tonga. In other words, it makes him a sort of recognized
member of the informal guild of Tongan undertakers. After
each burial, Semisi is in a *tapu* state for two or three days. [784]
He eats by himself and does not take any part in food- [264]
preparation. An undertaker of the highest social class must [252]

767 resign himself to eating alone all the days of his life.[25] His
554 left-over food is always given to animals—it may never be
264 eaten by another human. He may never cook for his wife
252 or children. His food is always prepared for him.

858 DEATH OF CHILDREN

766 An infant who dies at birth or is stillborn may be named,
[845] or not, according to the wish of the parents. It is buried in
[553] the village cemetery, by the parents themselves, without
[767] benefit of the undertaker's skill. A child is hardly important enough to merit calling in the undertaker. The difference in pattern between the death ceremonial for the adult as just described, and that for a young child is well brought out by the following notes on the death of an eight months old infant.

766 This infant, Kuli by name, suffered from a fever for
858 five days then died suddenly at noon, in his mother's mother's
593 house. Present at the death were the mother, the mother's
603 mother, and the mother's mother's sister, the latter two being very old women, partially blind and crippled. An unrelated woman passerby heard the first death wail from the mother. She went inside the house and found the dead baby cupped on the weeping mother's lap. The woman closed the baby's eyes and left. Outside the house sat the infant's father. A three-year-old sister of the infant is sent crying from the house to join her father. The mother soon leaves the house of death to go to her own house to fetch the laying-out mats and bark cloth. The mother's brother's daughter arrives and commences to clean and sweep the death-house. The half-senile mother's mother begins to talk to arriving mourners who have difficulty in suppressing laughter at the

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[25] Formerly, according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 196-198), a
[178] commoner was most likely to be buried by a relative. "Nowadays even commoners are buried by the *haatufunga*." Gifford also notes that
[784] after a burial, an undertaker could not feed himself for five, ten, or fifteen days, the period of *tapu* depending upon the rank of the deceased. Information in the text above that the Pangai undertaker eats by himself for two or three days, probably represents a modern variation on the more complete *tapu* of not eating with the hands. Information that the highest-class undertakers eat by themselves all the days of their lives probably represents village belief only. There is no mention of this extreme *tapu* in the pages of Gifford.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

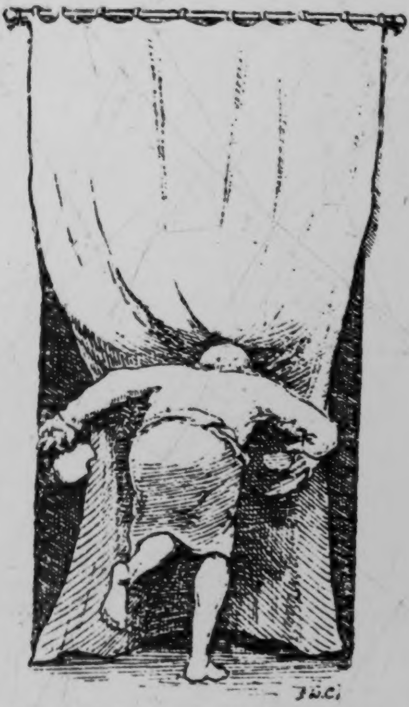
At the present stage of technical development in the 177
social sciences, an index of acculturation is still to be dreamed [121]
about, not worked with. A brief survey of the present
culture of Pangai village might well suggest that some such
cultural elements as the following would come within the
scope of such an index. First of all, it is easy to see that
there has been more cultural transference in the field of
material culture than is obvious in social organization. Even
with material culture, however, many distinctions have to be
drawn before it is all clear what has been transferred from
the alien culture. Thus many non-aboriginal foods are 177
cultivated today—corn, melons, tomatoes, and the like. But 262
compared with the use of aboriginal staple vegetables, such
imported foods play a non-significant role in day to day
eating and have gained little significance as prestige foods
for feast-purposes. In the preparation of foods, the process 177
of cooking by boiling has been developed with the importa- 252
tion of kerosene-tins. Boiled food is quicker to prepare than [415]
oven-baked food. Hence there is a tendency to eat boiled
food much of the time, using the native oven whenever some-
thing a little out of the ordinary is desired. In the technique 177
of eating, there is wide use of a few simple plates, dishes, 264
and cups, but transferring food from container to mouth is
still done with the fingers. In the use of foods, therefore, 177
the present culture illustrates a blend of new and old. How 178
much of each is involved is difficult to characterize with any
simplicity of statement.

The position is similar with regard to clothing. There 177
is today an extensive use of clothing materials derived from 291
European culture. The village women all wear dresses. All 178
the men at one time or another wear cotton shirts, but for 292
most purposes and occasions as a lower garment they have
borrowed the use of cotton materials which they use as a
skirt *(vala)*, thus following aboriginal practice in the style
of the garment. For ceremonial or out-of-the-ordinary
occasions both sexes wear either in place of, or on top of
the ordinary lower garment, a fine mat skirt together with
a belt of plaited coconut sennit *(ta'ovala)*. In dressing up
for special church occasions, deacons or lay-preachers almost
invariably try to wear the white man's suit, shirt, sox, and
shoes, though none of the village men would wear any of

644 looks like a gentleman. We had been good friends during
622 my former visit, while his wife Fujipala was still alive.
[493] When they dined with me on that occasion, they drove up
[291] in an antiquated buggy, with a Hindustani coachman from
Fiji, he in dress clothes, and she in mauve satin, bonnet
and boots included, attended by four maids of honour, as
befits a king's granddaughter who weighs seventeen stone.
Poor Fuji! her good sense and influence are badly wanted
now. Her son, Taufaahau, deprived of her control, was
running wild, and since he was generally regarded as the
heir to the king, it was imperative that Fatafehi should
[645] bring him under some sort of discipline. It was partly to
[793] urge this upon him that I had invited him to visit me,
[798] and partly because he had never shown animus against the
Wesleyans; and I wished him, as Governor of Haapai, to
endeavour to check the disaffection which the speeches
622 of the Free Church ministers were creating. When he
644 arrived, Vaea, a chief among the returned exiles, was
576 drinking tea. He had just taken a cup in one hand and a
784 piece of bread-and-butter in the other when the great man
264 was announced. "Who?" asked Vaea, not catching the
name. "Tui Belehake," I answered, giving his title; and
as I spoke the *portière* was flung aside and Fatafehi strode
in heartily. When I looked round Vaea had disappeared
from his chair, and was squatting in the corner with depending
lower jaw and eyes fixed vacantly on the ceiling.
I spoke to him once or twice, trying to include him in the
conversation, but he did not seem to hear. The only sign
of life about him was the trembling of the teacup in his
palsied hand. Suddenly he got up, and having no free
hand to move the curtain, he plunged at it head-foremost,

teacup and all, and disappeared. We found the empty 622
cup afterwards on the lawn, turned upside down in the 644
saucer. When his hostess had recovered from the effect 576
of this unexpected exit, she asked Fatafehi for an explan- 784
ation. He laughed 264
heartily at her ignorance [522]
of the usages of polite society, and said, "It is the *tabu.* He can't eat while I'm here. Ha! ha! ha!"

Fatafehi's laugh once 644
heard was not to be 522
forgotten. It began low down in his person and bubbled upwards, until suddenly the upper part of his head fell back, and a mirthful roar burst forth that shook his portly presence to its foundation. It was a ready laugh, mirth-compelling, and it carried far. When we told Mrs S. of our august visitor, her first question was, "Did you notice his laugh? No other Tongan laughs like that. They say that it is hereditary in his family.
You see it is his rank: no other Tongan would be allowed [554]
to laugh like that." Thereafter I looked with great respect



"He plunged at the curtain head-foremost."

643 strainer), and a tassel of the fibres of the yellow hibiscus,
644 in shape and size looking not unlike a deck-swab, was laid
276 floating upon the surface of the kava. The kava-maker
574 now pushed the edges of this strainer carefully down to
the bottom of the bowl, drawing it gently towards him,
and bringing it up to the rim of the bowl till it overlapped
the part that still floated, thus enclosing the fibres of the
root in a sort of net. Then drawing the whole to the
broad rim of the bowl, he folded it double, and wrung it
out till the muddy fluid had slopped back into the bowl,
and the strong fibres of the strainer cracked. He now
handed it to his companion on the left, who shook it out
and combed out the fibres with his fingers before giving it
back. This process was repeated until all the fibres of the
[565] kava suspended in the fluid had been removed. These
waste fibres, called *efi*, were afterwards pounded again in
one of the neighbouring houses by some of the commoners.

[521] During this operation the most perfect silence was kept.
643 Three men now came into the circle carrying baskets of
644 boiled plantains, which they emptied in a heap on banana-
276 leaves, and, by the direction of the *matabule*, distributed
574
264 amongst us—two plantains each. Before eating mine I
waited to see what the others would do, but no one touched
them, and before the end of the ceremony they were swept
up and taken away in baskets. In Mariner's time, eighty-
seven years ago, they would have been eaten: now the
custom has become an empty form, and survived like the
buttons on the back of the modern dress-coat.

643 The straining of the kava being now completed, the
644 man at the bowl cried, "*Kuo ma ae kava ni*" (This kava is
276
574 clear), and the *matabule* answered, "*Fakatau*" (Pour out).
576

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

V.

HOW I BECAME A PRIVY COUNCILLOR.

I WOKE early with the feeling that a crisis had to be gone 000
through during the day, and that we should need all our energies. I fondly hoped that a spark of enthusiasm would have been awakened in the breast of my colleague, and that he would be as eager as I to have a common plan of action laid down before our visit to the king, on which so much depended. But to my intense disgust the kava- 276
bowl, surrounded by its ministering spirits, was in course 574
of preparation, and a precious hour was wasted. I lived to know that to expect a Tongan chief to forego native ceremonial in the exigencies of public business is to court disappointment. We had time for a hurried meal when [264]
Fatafehi, clad in decent black, came to escort me to the royal presence. He thought it better that I should see 645
the king alone before the Council, and present the precious 643
log of sandal-wood that I had brought as a present from [431]
the High Commissioner. He would stay, he said, during the interview and interpret for me. Eight men were produced, who lifted the tree on their shoulders, and preceded us to the native house that did duty for a palace, and,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

of bread, nor forge a bolt, nor splice a strap. Their thirst 181
is not for knowledge, but for showy accomplishments: their
genius is frothy and ephemeral. This moral untidiness
pervades everything. In the king's palace there is a [644]
throne-room furnished like an Australian parlour, with [352]
Kidderminster carpet, ormolu ornaments under glass [513]
shades, and crewel-work mats on the tables,—the whole [264]
in unimaginable order,—while in a bare room on the
ground-floor the king sleeps on his mat spread on the
boards, and eats his yams from a single plate. A Cabinet [264]
Minister may be seen sitting on the floor of his well-
furnished office eating his mid-day meal from a large dish
with his fingers. The Minister of Police bustles about his [625]
work, delighted with the new routine he imperfectly un-
derstands. "It is excellent," he says with enthusiasm, [645]
only he cannot say how many officials draw pay in his
department, nor can the Premier as Minister of Education.
The latter thinks that they are paid in proportion to the [465]
number of their pupils, but he does not know for certain.
Shrewd old Sateki, the Auditor-General, alone is not en- 645
thusiastic. He dares to think that some day his work 181
will be plain to him, but at present his mind is darkened.
He is a really dependable subordinate this Sateki, but
I can see that he sighs for the day when he received
his orders, right or wrong, and had only to carry them
out without the responsibility of deciding anything for
himself.

He was the only official besides Tukuaho who attended 645
his office every day. The pay of the Civil servants was 647
fixed on the supposition that they should have time for the [465]
cultivation of their food-gardens. The clerks had to attend

181 able than the mission primness of the Tongatabu maidens,
whose discreet deportment invites suspicion.

245 From the wharf one climbs a grassy slope, and straightway
one is in the orange-groves. The whole town is an
orange-garden. Beneath the dark shiny foliage lie piles
of rotting fruit, half-concealed by the rank couch-grass.
Some of the trees are bent with their green load, others
are white with blossom, for the crops succeed each other
342 with little intermission. Behind the long rows of trees
nestle the brown thatched houses, set down, as it were,
upon the grass like the toy cottages of a child.

133 There is no beach here. The shores of the inlet are steep
to, and the main road runs along the edge of the cliff.
344 On this road stands the "Palace," a barn-like decaying
structure of wood, from which the paint has long ago been
[352] washed by successive rainy seasons. Poor Laifone maintained
[513] the place with magnificence,—that is to say, there
[264] were marble mantelpieces (never paid for), cut-glass decanters,
china, plate, whips, walking-sticks, boot-trees,
ornaments, and saddles scattered in heaps over the furniture
and floors, very dirty and in indescribable confusion;
while the royal master of all this luxury slept on the floor,
ate his meals with his fingers, and drank his liquor simply
from the black bottle without the intermediary of a cut-glass
decanter. But now even those glories have departed,
and the house is empty except when the king pays a flying
366 visit to Vavau. Beyond the "Palace" were the stores,
[439] built on the seaward side of the road for greater facility
in shipping copra, which comes next to oranges as the chief
563 product of Vavau. These stores, kept by rival traders
441 struggling for the custom of the passing Tongans, breed by

645 follows it is borne in upon me that *faiako* has the
646 restrictive meaning of professor, and that Mr H——'s
875 enemies have put it abroad that he is a mere schoolmaster and no professor. I am able to reassure the House on this point with a clear conscience, on the authority of no less a personage than the Minister of Education of New Zealand.

646 By the time the Address had been despatched to the king by the hands of the chief clerk the wooden drum had begun to beat. Aged Nobles, whose eyes had been getting dim, and whose heads had fallen forwards, started and straightway threw off twenty years of their burden of life. The whole House fixed its gaze upon the clock. It was the dinner-hour, and the Speaker, with an indulgent smile, adjourned the House. A stream of black-coated legislators hobbled to a long white building a few yards away, and besieged the doors as if it were the pit entrance to a theatre. A bolt was drawn, and both Houses surged inwards. There were two long tables, each accommodating forty guests,—the one reserved for the Lords, and
646 the other for the Commons. The ministering damsels
264 were ordered to appear in a white uniform, without lace
291 or other ornaments. They had treated the order with the scorn it deserved. The ox-eyed Sau, breathing propriety with every sigh, was dressed in white satin trimmed with furniture lace, and had a crimson sash tied coquettishly round her waist; the demure Vika—demure only in the presence of her elders—had broken out in bugles of jet and a cincture of native cloth. The trader who supplied her striped *vala* would be sold out of that pattern on the morrow, for the fashion in Tonga is set by the pretty girls.

646 girls. When not languidly handing plates these damsels
264 whispered and giggled in the windows, and hid their
blushes on each other's glistening shoulders.

The morning sitting has induced a remarkable appetite.
The dinner on the first day numbered some seventeen
courses of solid viands, yet scarce a plate goes away with
enough upon it to indicate its contents. It is right to
say, however, that this scale of entertainment is not maintained throughout the session. As the days went on,
course after course fell away as the supplies in the store-
[565] house diminished. The Lords are allowed a glass of sherry
[273] and a glass of beer each, the Cabinet Ministers half a
[645] tumbler of rum in addition; the Commons have to content
themselves with beer only. At last the Chaplain hammers
on the table with his knife-handle and says grace, and
the places of the legislators are taken by as many of the
Civil servants as can muster trousers and shoes. There
follows a fatal half hour, during which the fell effects of
646 such a dinner become apparent. When the bell rings
members sink into their places, glare determinedly at the
ceiling for a few moments, and lapse into unconsciousness.
The Sergeant-at-Arms, having drunk neither *ele* nor *lamu*,
rises and creeps stealthily towards the Lords. Such of
the members as still retain consciousness crane their necks
in breathless excitement. He is stalking Havea, Lord of
Haapai. Catlike he creeps on, gold-mounted scabbard in
hand, poises the weapon over the bowed head, and—Havea
starts up with an exclamation that I could translate
exactly, though I never heard it before. The House indulges in a well-bred titter. Meanwhile the clerks are
looking round the House, and making frequent entries in

175 was to absolve his subjects from the penalties of the
643 broken *tabu*, and to take the good things provided for
him without descending into the arena of political strife:
he was, in fact, the heaven-appointed sovereign in a
limited monarchy. The temporal king — the Tui Kanokubolu — was the irresponsible sovereign of the people,
wielding absolute power of life and death over his subjects,
and was charged with the burden of the civil government
and the ordering of the tribute due to the gods and their
175 earthly representative, the Tui Tonga. None but the son
643 or grandson of a Tui Tonga could succeed to that dignity,
644 and his mother must be the daughter of the Tui Kanokubolu. The temporal king was therefore always grandfather or uncle of the Tui Tonga. Thus was the blood
kept pure.

[784] Although the Tui Tonga had no executive functions,
yet, as representative on earth of the immortals, he was
environed with the most rigid *tabu*. As it would be
inconvenient to multiply personages of such transcendent
rank, his wife was always taken from him after having
175 borne him two children. Her son was the heir, but her
644 daughter attained an even higher rank than her father
554 or brother. She was the Tui Tonga *fefine* (female Tui
Tonga), and even her father must bow to her for absolu-
[582] tion of the *tabu*. No mortal might aspire to marriage
with her, but she might, without loss of dignity, have
children, and her daughter, if she had one, became the
[264] Tamaha — the highest earthly dignity. Neither her
[784] mother nor her grandfather, to whom all others paid
homage, could eat in her presence, nor neglect to per-

form the *moëmoë*[1] by embracing her feet when they left 175 644
her. 554 [264]

These higher dignities, however, were a superstructure [784]
built of the high estimation in which women were held [562]
upon the fundamental idea of the divine affinity of the [643]
Tui Tonga. The key to this belief is to be found in the 173
epic of Kau-ulu-fonua, from whose reign Tongan history 175
may be said to date.[2] The following is an unworthy 643
prose version of the story:—

In days of old the Tui Tonga was lord of all Tonga— [651]
lord of the soil and of the men, and of the first-fruits;
and to no other chief was tribute paid but to the Tui
Tonga only. He received tribute from Haapai, from [651]
Haafulu hao,[3] from Niuafo'ou,[4] from Niua-tobutabu,[5] from [648]

---

[1] A salute paid to the highest chief present. The person performing it [576]
sits cross-legged before him, and bows the head until the forehead touches [565]
the sole of the chief's foot, and then brushes the foot first with the palm
and then with the back of each hand. After touching a chief's person the [516]
moëmoë must be performed on pain of the liver swelling up and causing [753]
death. As they are subject to scrofulous diseases, which they attribute [164]
to an unwitting breach of the *tabu*, they used to perform the *moëmoë*
frequently from motives of caution, without reference to any special *tabu*
they had broken.

[2] *Circa* 1535. There are fragmentary traditions of an earlier time when [264]
the Tongans were in a lower social state, and cannibalism was practised.
A colony from Tonga founded a powerful clan in Mangaia (Cook Islands) [628]
before the end of the fifteenth century, and it is probable that Pylstaart [167]
was peopled from Tonga before the sixteenth century; but the names of
the kings before Kau-ulu-fonua are unreliable (*vide* Appendix I.), and the
traditions are too disconnected to be classed in their proper sequence.
The old men who stored up these traditions have passed away, and it
cannot now be hoped that the records of the dim past will ever be rescued
from oblivion.

[3] Vava'u. [4] Boscawen Island. [5] Keppel's Island.

Tangaloa the Craftsman would seem to be the especially representative 773
type, as Tangaloa was the god of carpenters, who before eating used
to throw a small piece upwards, saying, "for Tangaloa." The plover [776]
is sacred to him, that being the shape in which he visited earth, [322]
Tangaloa Atulongolongo being the member of the family spoken of as [264]
paying such visits.

The Maui, too, are regarded as a group rather than as a single god. [782]
The stories mention Maui-loa (Long Maui), Maui Buku (Short Maui), [825]
and Maui-Atalanga, who is the father of Maui Kijikiji, the most
famous of the Maui, noted for his mischievous disposition, for his 776
immense strength, and for the priceless boon he bestowed on mortals 773
in stealing fire from the Underworld and bringing it up to earth. His
father Atalanga, too, performed the signal service of thrusting the sky
up high above the earth. Previously men had to go on all fours like
the beasts, but as the price of a drink of water which he begged from
a woman in Vavau he raised the sky to its present elevation.
Atalanga is associated with Kijikiji, but always in a subordinate role,
in a number of exploits which rid the world of certain dangerous
animals and plants, especially notable being the great man-eating dog
of Fiji. This feat is also credited to the hero Muni of the Torn-eye.
Muni's mother was thrown into the sea before his birth, and the child
was cast ashore on the island of Lofanga in Haapai, where a plover
pecked at his eye as he lay on the beach. Hence the sobriquet of Torn-eye.
In the case of both Maui's and Muni's adventure with the man-eating
dog, the hero slays the monster and then dies himself; Maui in
grief that the beast had devoured his father, and Muni because this
fate had overtaken his devoted Fijian henchman. The bones of the
Maui, father and son, became the father, by a Fijian woman, Sinailele,
of a still mightier hero, Tui-motuliki, who came to Tonga, and was the
progenitor of a line of gentry in attendance on the Tui Tonga. Legend
mentions also another Maui, Maui Motua (Old Maui), who appears as
the father of Maui Atalanga, and the guardian of the fire stolen by
Kijikiji from the Underworld.

Between Hikuleo, Tangaloa, and Maui were divided Bulotu, Sky, 776
and Underworld. Hikuleo received as her portion Bulotu (the
Polynesian Paradise), abode of the souls of chiefs and great people. 773
To Tangaloa was assigned the Sky, and to Maui the Underworld. To 772
the fourth pair of the original twins, Hemoana and Lube, were given
the Sea and the Land and Forests. Hikulea was bound by a great
cord, one end being held by the Tangaloa in the sky, and the other by
the Maui in the Underworld. The earth would have been destroyed by
a visit from her, hence the precautions to keep her at home.

Especially connected with the Tangaloa is the plover, and embodied 776
in this bird one of them was wont to visit the earth. His visits
commenced before the creation of the islands known to the Tongans. [825]

good quality and including fine mats, of his own provision, and a 585
girdle of sweet-smelling leaves and flowers is put around his neck. [292]
He goes out and stands midway between the *kava* bowl and the mat [301]
dais, and a woman who is *fahu** on the bride's side calls the name of
some important personage of the bride's father's family to go and take
the bridegroom's dress. The bridegroom may either be alone, or
accompanied by his "mother." The one named at once steps forth
and takes immediate possession. The bridegroom then returns to
the house, and when he has been garbed anew, comes once more into
the space between the *kava* bowl and dais, and the *fahu* calls someone
of the bride's mother's family to be the recipient of the second dress.
Possession is at once taken as before. This may be repeated twice
more, the third set of clothes going to the bride's father's, and the
fourth to the bride's mother's family, but as a rule the first and
second presentations are sufficient. The bridegroom finally comes
forth from the house garbed in raiment which the *fahu* subsequently
claims for herself, but which is meanwhile worn by the groom. This
dress is called the dress for serving *kava*. The *kava* is now served, 585
the bridegroom taking the cups round, whilst the bride sits under the 276
canopy, and has presented to her the third, the chief, cup. She is
the chief on this occasion. The food distributed with the *kava* is the [262]
largest pig in the baskets brought by the bridegroom's family, and
the back, the chiefly portion, is laid before the bride. As in other [264]
kava ceremonial the food is not eaten by those to whom it is presented,
but is borne off by certain people who are *fahu* to the several
recipients.

After the *kava* has been drunk the food is distributed, that provided 585
by the bride's people amongst the groom's family, and that
given by the man amongst the bride's folk. Similarly the mats and
cloth are exchanged between the families. The bridegroom has
nominally the disposal of that given by the bride's relatives, and the
bride of the presentations of her husband's folk, but very little of it
will fall to their share. The distribution will probably not be made
on the day of the wedding feast, but at some convenient time a little
later. Meanwhile the mats and cloth given by the man's party are
taken home by the bride's parents, and kept till she can go and
attend to their disposal. Amongst regular wedding gifts are candle-nuts
and towels of native cloth, which are presented to both bride
and bridegroom several days before the ceremony, to serve them in
their preparatory ablutions. Candlenuts are ground in the mouth, [515]
and used as a detergent. There is no obligation to use these gifts

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* The *fahu* is extremely important in Tongan society. It is a relative who [593]
has wide rights and authority over a man, namely his sister, or his father's sister, [604]
or their children.

585 for their ostensible purpose, and indeed the chances are that they will not be so used, but will be donated to friends with the other gifts. The bride's relatives, moreover, bring mats nominally to serve as a couch for the children that shall be born of the union. These mats, however, are not retained by the happy couple, but are shared out in the general distribution.

Mention has been made of the *reifua*, the special basket of food. As this is borne to the site of the ceremony the most important person on the groom's side approaches and takes the liver and eats it, or gives it to whomsoever he will, or else marks his consequence by [593] striking the basket or its pig with his hand. This basket falls to the [604] lot of the *fahu* of the bridegroom, probably to his sister.

When the ceremony is finished, the bride and bridegroom, who [264] have probably nothing of the food provided for the wedding, have a quiet meal together *en famille*, and their domestic life has fairly begun.

One other ceremony remains, that connected with the bride's virginity. The man who has married a maiden awaits a suitable opportunity, and prepares a large basket of food which he presents to her parents. He also gives them the mat bearing the sign of her virginity. With increasing refinement of manners the practice is gaining ground of substituting for this a simple present of a fine mat. Elderly female relatives sometimes sleep with the newly married, and if an old woman interested in the maiden suspects that her credentials are not as sound as they should be she may preserve her reputation by a little pious fraud.

585 622 The high chief Tukuaho, who died towards the close of the nineteenth century, left a diary in which is an interesting account of the older procedure followed at the marriage of a great chief. In essence the ceremony is identical with the foregoing description of a modern wedding; but the bridegroom is represented as going by night with a large following of his people, and bringing his bride 585 622 177 home with loud shouts and exclamations. Amongst the exclamations said to be proper to the occasion is gibberish, untranslatable as either Tongan or Samoan, but which seems to be misrendered Samoan, and to contain references to rites of Samoan marriage which found no place in Tongan ceremony. William Mariner, who spent four years in Tonga in the early part of the nineteenth century, saw a high chief married with Samoan rites, though a portion of the Samoan ceremonial was omitted, and it may well be that Samoan marriage customs came to have a certain vogue in fashionable circles. The diarist speaks of these high society functions being extended over several days, and being graced with various dances.

582 622 Although marriages, especially of chiefs, are frequently arranged by the elders, yet the youths and girls have considerable freedom in

Native grown tobacco is smoked in Tonga rolled in 276
pieces of dried banana leaf. These cigarettes seem to be
relished more than imported ready-made cigarettes. Tongan 276
school children are thoroughly grounded in the fact 829
that smoking is an American-Indian invention. Its transmission
to Tonga and the rest of the world they associate
with the name of Christopher Columbus.

Not every foreign trait in modern Tongan culture has 177
been absorbed with as little harm as tobacco. Cricket is 177
one in point. With such fervor was cricket playing undertaken 526
that it became necessary some decades ago to pass
laws restricting the playing of the game to certain days of
the week.

Horse racing, too, is a favourite pastime and even some 541
remote islands now have race courses.

The dynamiting of fish became so prevalent some years 226
ago that it was necessary to prohibit the use of the explosive 178
for this purpose. Fishing has fallen somewhat into abeyance [439]
in certain localities and it is not uncommon for Tongans to
buy fish from enterprising Japanese and Caucasian fishermen.

177
The introduction of cloth has given rise to two new 296
feminine occupations; sewing, often with a machine; and [462]
washing. Tapa, the native substitute for cloth, is unwashable.
Clothes washing was given a further impulse by the 291
enactment of a law compelling all individuals to wear shirts [656]
in public. The lower garment is still the vala or rectangular
cloth worn as a skirt. To-day it is of textile material. Shoes
are not worn except by the well-to-do.

The police costume is of interest; barefeet, white vala, 625
blue or white coat, and broad-brimmed felt hat. 292

Speaking of the vala or rectangular cloth wound about 291
the waist as a skirt, it should be noted that the proper
length for a gentleman is half-way between the knee and
ankle. Shorter valas are worn by cooks. In Samoa valas
are worn short. I once heard a Tongan chief remark derisively 186
of the Samoans that "they wear their valas like
cooks." I have also heard the Samoans spoken of as barbarians [514]
because they have no water closets, which in Tonga [656]
are required by law.

Tongans eat with their fingers seated cross-legged on 264
mats with the food before them on other mats. Europeans

at Tongan feasts do the same. The combination of European 264
dress and fingers for knives, forks and spoons seems
strikingly incongruous to one new to the custom. At the
end of the meal a basin of water is passed around, so that
each one may wash his hands.

Perfumes are much appreciated by the Tongans and 302
traders say that they discriminate between the cheaper and
the better grades. This is clearly but a transferal of their [178]
old interest in perfumed coconut oil, with which they still
freely anoint themselves.

European alcoholic drinks are called kava papalangi 273
(foreign kava). They are permitted only to the land-holding [656]
chiefs, in a limited quantity, and to foreigners. Commoners [565]
must go without.

Stone, bone, and shell implements have been supplanted 177
long since by metal implements. Contact with Euro-American [41]
culture has resulted, however, in the rise of a new
stone implement. This is the slab of stone and the stone [415]
pounder for preparing kava root. Formerly this was chewed [276]
to prepare the brew; now, owing to Caucasian influence, it
is pounded.

The former narrow roads that traversed the various 491
Tongan islands have now all been replaced by roads of 178
standard width for wheeled vehicles. The commonest vehicle 493
is a two-wheeled cart imported from New Zealand. The [439]
Tongan usually dispenses with the board seat and sits cross-legged
on the bed of the cart. In the two large islands of
Tongatabu and Vavau automobiles have made their appearance.
They are the more numerous in the former island
where the levelness of the country makes for ease in driving.
The majority of cars are driven by Caucasians, but the Tongans [177]
are fast learning. Many Tongans have been familiar 501
for years with gasoline launches.

Vehicles keep to the left in Tonga. 494

Many Tongan houses show a hybridism in construction. 342
Often the roof will be of corrugated iron instead of the regular
thatch. Or again, the sides and rounded ends will be 177
of boards instead of cane. These innovations usually do not
affect the shape of the house. Many churches are in native 346
architecture, which employs sinnet cord instead of nails. 178

Appreciation of money is naturally developing in Tonga 177
and is undoubtedly an important factor in the process of 436
acculturation. National feeling, though probably existent 186
178

276 legs again) ; it is all right, knead. And at the same time he
574 says to two men who are sitting facing him, one on either
643 side of the bowl, *Tafoki kimoua, 'o 'ai ha'amo vai,* You two turn, and put in your water. These two then turn inwards toward the bowl, and call for water, merely uttering the one word *Vai.* Water is brought and these two keep dipping it into the bowl, whilst the mixer thoroughly kneads and mixes *kava* and water. When the *matapule* sees that almost enough water has been poured in he calls *Vai taha,* One water, and one man ceases pouring in the water. The other goes on till he sees that there is sufficient water in the bowl, and then, whilst still allowing a trickle to run in, he turns toward the *matapule,* who understands the hint, and says, *Taofi 'ae vai; 'ai mai 'ae fau,* Stop the water; put hither the strainer (a bunch of hibiscus, *fau,* fibre). The man who has mixed then strains out the solid particles of *kava* with the fibre. There are different sets of movements in straining the *kava,* the simplest being merely the actions necessary to putting in the fibre strainer, gathering up the scraps of *kava,* wringing and shaking them out. There are at least two sets of movements, the *faka-mui-fonua* and the *milo-lua,* which are much more elaborate, embracing a long series of graceful movements with hands and arms. The movements are, at least to some extent, determined by the kind of *kava,* i.e., size of the root, employed.

The time of straining the *kava* is the occasion for dis-
[482] tributing the *fono,* food accompanying the *kava.* Motu'apuaka has looked out one or two baskets from the food presented, usually selecting an *umu hula,* basket of food borne
276 on two poles on the shoulders of four bearers. When the
574 time comes for distributing the *fono* this basket is brought
643 forward, and a pig taken out and cut up. The liver, which
264 is placed over the hole in the belly through which he has been disembowelled, is first taken and laid before the king. The pig is laid on its back, sideways to the king, with its head to the right hand of the carver, who sits facing the king, if the carver is right-handed, and to his left hand if he is left-handed. First the hind leg on the side nearer the king is cut off, then there is a cut round the middle on that same side, round the neck and foreleg, without removing the leg. The pig is then turned over, with its belly toward the king. The other hind leg is cut off, and the hindquarters, and a cut made across the back. The head is

carved off; the back is now taken, and finally the forelegs, 276
taking that first which was first cut. The pig being now 574
dismembered is arranged with all its parts in the same 643
order as they are in the living animal. Whilst the pig is 264
being carved the other food which is to be distributed as *fono* is displayed, and the yams counted. Then the *fono* is distributed. The distribution is said to depend on the number of yams; but what is meant by this is probably no more than that the number of yams in each portion depends on the total number of yams available for the purpose.

The actual distribution of the pig follows strict rules. 276
The back of the pig is taken to the king; the head and one 574
hind leg and one foreleg are for Lauaki and the chiefs and 643
matapule on the left; the hindquarters and one hind and 565
one foreleg are for those on Motu'apuaka's side; a yam 264
and the chest of the pig are put in a basket and taken to Ve'ehala. This last portion is named the *vae-tolu*, third division.

These large portions of the *fono* are sub-divided and distributed to individual chiefs and *matapule*. The top part of the head is the share of Nuku, and the part of the hind-quarters in which the tail is set belongs to Niukapu. The [554]
hind legs are more important than, are superior to, the forelegs. The hind legs are cut into three parts, and the hindquarters into four. The portion called *tutanga* (I do not know what part this is) is given to a chief, not to a *matapule*.

The portion which is taken to Ve'ehala is cut up at the direction of his *matapule*, who reserves pieces of yam and pig for Ve'ehala and himself, and the remainder is put back in the basket and taken to Ma'afu, whose *matapule* likewise takes a share for his chief and himself; and the basket is then taken in turn to Ata and Vaha'i, whose *matapule* take portions for their chiefs and themselves. The basket is then taken out of the ring, and the food remaining in it belongs to the *kau ngaohi fono*, which means literally, those who act upon, or with, the *fono;* but I have no record of who they are. Ma'afu's share in this particular *fono* is of recent date. Formerly he was on the right-hand side, nearer to Motu'apuaka, in whose *fono* he shared; but King George Tupou I. placed him in the *fasi alofi*, opposite to Ve'ehala, to bring the Ha'a Havea into more prominence. Ve'ehala's sharing in this *fono* dates from the time of Ata Mataila,

276 the second Tu'i Kanokupolu. Ve'ehala and Ata Mataila
574 were brothers, and Ve'ehala's *fono* is not brought from the
643 portion allotted to Motu'apuaka or Lauaki, but from that
565 assigned to the king himself. But the *fono* is not eaten by
264 those to whom it is given. After it has been distributed
certain people who are *fahu* to those to whom the *fono*
has been given come and take it away to dispose of as they
like; they may eat it themselves or give it to whomsoever
they will. Usually the *fono* is not eaten till after the *kava*
ceremony is finished. Those who have the right of eating
the *fono* are spoken of as *kai fono, fono* eaters. Some of
the *fahu* of a chief are spoken of as *kau mokopuna 'eiki*,
noble descendants, or noble grandchildren. *(Mokopuna* is
the word used in translating the English "grandchild," but
of course its Tongan meaning is not so restricted.) Not
565 all *mokopuna* are *'eiki*, noble. (Mr. Hocart's distinction
554 between nobles and chiefs, titled heads of houses, is necessary and convenient. The Tongan word for both nobles and
chiefs is *'eiki*, but there is a third sense of *'eiki*, viz., superior in social rank. For example, one may say that such
a one, a member of his family, is *'eiki* to him, i.e., superior
to him in rank within the family; all the members of the
family may be *'eiki*, noble, and some one or other individual
may be the *'eiki*, the titled head.) Whether the *mokopuna*
are noble or not depends on birth, doubtless on the rank of
their mothers. One informant calls the *mokopuna 'eiki*
those who are *'eiki*, socially superior, in their families.
[264] Children, *fanau*, do not eat the *fono*, but only *mokopuna*.
[858] A father is sacred, *toputapu*, to his sons and daughters;
593 they must not touch his head or eat his food; but grand-
603 children are not bound by *tapu* in respect of their grandparents.

604 But although some may simply say that the *kau moko-*
554 *puna 'eiki*, chiefly grandchildren, are those who eat the *fono*,
others lay stress on the sister's son as pre-eminently the
one who is *fahu*. The father's sister's son is also *fahu*. A
very intelligent Tongan says that one cannot lay down a
hard and fast rule as to who is especially *the fahu* in every
case. A concrete example is that of Takai, a descendant of
the daughter of Alea-motua, the Tu'i Kanokupolu who died
in 1845, who is *fahu* and *kai fono* to the present Queen.

[603] The *fahu* rights of the sister's son are clear; but the
children of both sons and daughters have free access to

their grand-parents, and are, at all events in general, of 604
superior social rank to them, yet they are not necessarily 554
fahu to them. [603]

Do the rights of the *mokopuna* and of the sister's son indicate a fusion of two social organizations?

There is also an expression *hako 'eiki,* which simply 611
translated would mean chiefly descendants, but is defined 565
by a Tongan informant as a descendant, *hako,* of a chief other than the one to whom his "body rightly is related," which apparently means a person closely related to one noble house, but having in his veins the blood of some other noble family.[6]

Foreigners, being exempt from the *tapu* binding on 609
the native, may eat the *fono;* but when the descendant of 276
a foreigner has much Tongan plebeian blood claims based 574
on foreignness are disallowed. At a *kava* party of Ata's 576
some women were sitting in the *alofi,* and were ordered to move. One, however, who said she was a Samoan, was allowed to stay, and sat throughout the ceremony with one hand resting on the ground, which would not have been permitted to a Tongan woman or man.

Should there happen to be no *kai fono* in the assembly 276
the chief may call anyone to come and take the *fono.* After 574
the chief's *fono* has been taken no difficulty is felt about 264
the others. The *matapule* may tell the man who is taking away the chief's to take all; he may take all together, or may take the chief's first and then return for the remainder. There is no formality here; it is merely a matter of convenience.

The time occupied with the *fono* is that for certain 276
speeches to be made by the *matapule,* mainly of a con- 574
gratulatory sort. There are certain stereotyped phrases of 537
compliment, e.g., *kei tu'u pe 'ae la'a,* the sun is still in 643
its place, i.e., the king is still well. A very interesting [195]
feature of these ceremonial addresses is the introductory [576]

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[6] *Hou'eiki matua,* noble parents, are chiefs who have become the progenitors of other titled houses, i.e., in addition to their original title which has continued in the direct line, at some point in their history another line and title have branched off from them.

Kai fonua, eating the land. Ata and Vaea are *kai fonua;* first-fruits were taken to them, and they ordered fruits of the land to be taken to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. There were no *kai fonua* chiefs among the Tu'i Tonga chiefs. (*Anga faka-kai-fonua* is said to be an abusive term.)

The form of cousin marriage most favored is that of a man to 582
his mother's brother's daughter, though other forms are possible. 605
None of these relationship terms must be understood as connoting
necessarily the same closeness of connection as in English. Cousin [565]
marriages are more common amongst chiefs than amongst the rank
and file, and it is said indeed that when such marriages occur amongst
the people it is in imitation of the chiefs.

Considering the social status of women the foregoing tabu between 784
brother and sister may be part of the general system wherein 562
the superior is tabu to the inferior, though old legends make it more 584
probable that, at least in comparatively ancient times, the safeguard [554]
was against incest as such, though this is not in itself necessarily the
explanation of the origin of the very stringent Tongan sentiment
against marriage of close relatives. With reference to the expression
"close relatives" a Tongan once remarked to me, "We count as
closely kin those whose common ancestry is even four generations
back."

A tabu still regarded is that of not eating or drinking the remains 784
of food or drink of a superior. The penalty for the violation of this 554
rule is a sore throat, which can, however, be cured by being stroked 264
by the superior whose victuals have caused the trouble, or by one of 753
still higher rank. A person suffering from a sore throat, which he 755
suspects to have been caused in this way, will take a short cut to cure
by resorting at once to the highest chief available. In earlier days
the cure used to be effected by an application of the chief's foot to
the sore spot, but the hand has been found equally efficacious and is
now usually employed. Should anyone desire to help himself from
the platter of a superior the unseen powers may be cheated by a little
simple collusion. After the inferior has helped himself to the tabued
viands an immediate application of the superior's hand will ward off
all unpleasant consequences. It is in the item of drinking a coconut [272]
after another that this tabu seems to be most regarded, possibly because
sharing a coconut is fairly common, but more probably because
the coconut, being completely closed round but for one small opening,
is a peculiarly fit receptacle to retain the influence emanating from
the drinker. A similar idea to this is found in Fiji and will be [171]
noted later.

The tabus relating to contact with the body of a superior are nat- 784
urally most marked in reference to high chiefs, but the respect paid 565
to chiefs seems to be part and parcel of the general social system, 576
throughout which the gradations of rank are well known.

The head and back are the most sacred portions of a chief's body. [826]
No one will touch the head of a superior nor pass close behind his
back without apology. In the case of a great chief he would not
pass there at all. In certain great ceremonial kava drinkings there 276
is a high chief who sits, not in the ring where the majority of the 574
chiefs have their place, called the *alofi*, but in the portion of the 576
ground where the kava is prepared, called the *toua*. But although 565
this chief is called the chief of the *toua*, he sits by himself at some
distance to the rear and side of the group who are brewing the drink,
so that all work in connection with the ceremony is performed without
anyone's passing behind him. So in the *alofi* the attendants as they
come and go always pass within the circle, before the chiefs, and
never outside, behind them.

Eating and drinking in the presence of a high chief of greatly 264
superior rank to oneself is tabu. A great chief himself may experi- 565
ence this inconvenience in the presence, e.g., of the king. This has 576
been noted by old voyagers, and an example came under my notice 554
within recent years. A white lady invited the late king of Tonga 643
and a couple of high chiefs to dinner. One of them was able to eat
freely in the presence of His Majesty, but the other, a robust young
man who might have been expected to own a healthy appetite, toyed
with his food in embarrassment. Afterwards he laughingly remonstrated with his hostess for her unkindness in setting such an excellent dinner before him in the presence of the king, where he was unable to do justice to it. This tabu against eating in the presence of a high chief may be overcome by retiring to a short distance and turning the back to the great lord.

Leaving the matter of eating and drinking to return to respect to 565
the person of superiors, we find that if a chief be sitting with some 554
utensil close behind him which the people about wish to use, their 576
only hope is that the chief will himself notice their predicament and
tell someone to come and take what is required. Otherwise they

must make shift to obtain elsewhere a utensil fitted for their purpose. 565

A strict regard to the tabu surrounding the persons of superiors 576
would introduce almost intolerable inconveniences into the relations 554
of intimate domestic life, but although there is considerable relaxation 593
the tabu of the head and face is observed fairly strictly. A 576
father's head is tabu to his child. There may be Tongan fathers who would pick up their children and let them pull their moustaches or hair as many a white father does, but they can not be numerous. The Tongan father does not nurse and caress his child as freely as the European father does. There are doubtless other considerations operative, of which, by the way, lack of natural affection is not one, but probably the most potent reason is the tabu of the father's person.

DEATH

In the treatment of the dead the working of these ideas is clearly 764
seen. The body is prepared for burial by those of family rank superior 554
to that of the deceased, who had been able to approach him freely during his lifetime. Relatives and friends of inferior rank will pay a farewell visit to the deceased shortly after death, but the visit is short, and during it they sit at a respectful distance in that part of the room towards which the feet of the body are pointing. The visitors may indeed kiss the face of their dead friend (probably an innovation since the introduction of Christianity), but after bestowing the kiss they at once retire to a proper distance. There are those who kiss, not the face, but the feet of the deceased. Ordinarily the body is prepared for burial by those whose relations to the deceased enable them to approach him freely, and they suffer no inconvenience
from the contact. In the case of high chiefs, however, the last offices 565
are of necessity performed by those of inferior social status, and 784
their hands are thereafter tabu for a certain period, during which the 264
tabued person may not feed himself. It has not often been the fortune of Europeans in these latter days to see a person with tabued hands, but the Rev. C. P. Walkden Brown, late Chairman of the Methodist Mission, who left the group in 1908, was on one occasion present at a Tongan feast in company with a man under this interdict.

The rites in connection with the burial of great chiefs have fortu- 764 zeal of the queen's followers. The strainers (bunches of wild hibiscus fibre) were provided by special groups whose prerogative it was, and represented certain chiefly families. 643 644 276 574

During the ceremony three conventional speeches were delivered by three chiefs belonging to the Tui Kanokubolu group, who each before speaking slid forward without rising, with two little jerks, returning in the same manner to his place when his speech was finished. These speeches followed traditionary forms, and were exhortations to the Tui Kanokubolu and the people to do their duty to the Tui Tonga chiefs. The first referred to shell-fishing, the second to the bonito fishing, and the third to the fruits of the soil. 644 537 565 [516]

An interesting feature of these ceremonies was a man belonging to a family which is connected with Fiji, who was decked out like a Fijian warrior. He preceded the royal procession to the ground by about a hundred yards or so, crouching and running and looking about like an outpost spying out the enemy. When the queen was seated he violated all tabus and rules of ordinary decency by taking up his station near her, passing freely behind or before her, smoking whilst standing or lounging close beside her, and finally, when the pig's liver which is customarily offered to the chief on such occasions was put before the queen, he broke off a piece on the point of his spear and ate it in her presence. 644 643 784 576 [276] [264]

The sanctity of the great chiefs is well illustrated in an interesting native manuscript which was made available to me by the kindness of the Hon. W. Tungi and Mr. E. W. Gifford. In these notes the special words applied to the highest chiefs, the Tamaha and the Tui Tonga, are called the *tobutabu* insignia, the most sacred insignia. Since the institution of monarchy on the European pattern the Tui Tonga words are applied to the reigning sovereign. 643 784 192

FISHING

Industries have their own tabus. I have been told that formerly a woman must not step over the green shoot of a sprouting yam, though this is not now regarded, and young women of the present generation whom I have questioned know nothing of it. It was also tabu for anyone to step over a fishing net whilst it was being made. 784 824 241 562 784 226

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

male relatives of the mother and in her generation or not. When the 601
father's brothers or mother's sisters are indicated separately from the
true father or mother, a descriptive term such as *tokoua o'e tamai* or 114
tokoua o'e fa'e is used. The word for mother's brother, *tuasina* described
by Gifford(16) and Koch (17) was not obtained, and I think *fa'e tangata*
must be much more popular than *tuasina* today. Also in daily conversation
the term *tokoua* for the siblings of the same sex is widely used, instead
of *taokete* or *tehina*.

As a term for a spouse, *unoho, ohoana* and *hoa* by Gifford are com- 601
pletely replaced by the English term *mali*. For a man, his wife, his wife's
sister and his brother's wife are all denoted by the term *mali*, and for [192]
a woman, her husband, her husband's brother and her sister's husband
are her *mali*. The complementary term to *mali* is *matapule* which indicates
four kinds of relation; for a man, his sister's husband, his wife's
brother, and for a woman, her brother's wife and her husband's sister. A
woman's brother's wife and man's wife's brother are grouped by Gifford
under the name of *mo'a*,(18) a term which I could not elicit. Gifford 601
thinks that *matapule* is an honorary term which applies only to the higher 554
rank of man's sister's husband and woman's husband's sister, but it is used
reciprocally regardless of rank or status.

He mentions that the father's sister's husband is also called *tangata eiki*,
chiefly man.(19) But *tangata eiki* is an honorary term to be extended
not only to the father's sister's husband, but also to the father and to
a man not related. For example, when one indicates "your father" or
"your husband," it is used as a pure honorific expression, not a kinship
term.

There are no special terms of address at all. Even by their own 601
small children people are addressed by their own personal names.

The Norm of Kinship Behaviour

As already pointed out by a number of writers, kinship behaviour is 602
precisely defined according to the rank of an individual within a network 554
of kinship. The norm the villagers think they should observe today is
variously defined in accordance with the relationship involved.

Parents and Children

593
Father and children: It is *tapu* for both sons and daughters to touch 784
the father's head, to use his clothes, bed, combs and to eat the food he 602
does not finish eating. Upon his death, they cannot stay inside a house [264]
where the corpse is laid. The attitude towards the father's brother is the [764]
same as towards the father. The head of a nuclear family is the father [604]
who is responsible for the management of the household affairs. When [592]
sons and daughters want to marry, they should consult their father, and [584]
if he forbids the marriage, the only way to effect their purpose is to elope.

Mother and children: There is no *tapu* towards the mother. Either
sons or daughters may use their mother's or sister's bed, clothes and combs.

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16. Gifford 28.
17. Koch 1955: 71.
18. Gifford 1929 :20.
19. Gifford 28.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

Grandparents and Grandchildren

602
603 No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren.
784 The latter may touch the head of the former and eat the balance of their
[264] food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate
to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

593 Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an out-
784 standing feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred
602 by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each
[291] other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they
[513] have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the
[516] sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not
[521] come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a
[764] funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase.
[264] They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and
must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used.
[516] When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They
[195] may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must
[521] reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such
topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the
brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversa-
[589] tion about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and
[764] funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may
[535] not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*.
[276] The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When
[574] one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may
[758] nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting,
one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.

[264] Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother
to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.

Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between
the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the
[846] younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take
care of her.

604 *Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece*

602 Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*,
[601] the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On
the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece
as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (mehikitanga) and nephew and niece (fakafotu)

602
604 *Fakafotu* have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to
784 the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They
[276] may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a
[764] room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but
[601] will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

585 relations and friends follow them in motor lorries. Having secured the civil marriage licence from the office, they proceed to the church where the religious ceremony is performed by the pastor. This ceremony should be performed within two weeks after registration at the office. Other-[435] wise, the civil marriage licence will be declared invalid. The registration fee of 6 shillings is paid customarily by the bridegroom's family. Moreover, they pay 8 shillings in case of the Free Wesleyan Church and 2 shillings in other churches, but the fee is free in the Catholic Church. Parents of the new couple stay at each of their homes, making *umu* for the feast, *katoanga mali* which is to be held in this afternoon. On coming back to the village, the new couple rest at their own house for a while to change their clothes. Then the bride proceeds to the place of *katoanga mali* with her attendants who carry pigs, foods cooked in *umu*, bark cloths, mats and so forth. On her way the bridegroom may await her to march together to the banquet place. *Katoanga mali* is usually given at the house of the bridegroom or one of his relations . There mats and bark cloths have been already piled high. On the top of this piled bark cloth, the *fa'e tangata* sits down, on whose lap the bride takes a seat. Another *fa'e tangata* may sit in front of her to keep her feet up. The groom like-
585 wise sits on his *fa'e tangata*'s lap. *Faikava* begins now. The bridegroom
276 who takes off his long clothes to make *kava*, serves round the *kava* cup
574 following the order called by the *matapule*. Then the largest pig (*puaka*
264 *toho*) is cut and the dorsal part is laid in front of the bride. Suddenly her father's sister or her daughter hits it, calling the name of a certain person. The nominee is entitled to eat it. This *faikava* does not last for a long time.

585 The things to be exchanged between the bride and groom's people are called *koloa*, which consists of bark cloth, mats, *kato alu* (basket made of *alu*), *kali hahapo* (a wooden pillow) and *kali toloni* (a wooden pillow). The *koloa* is the same for men and women, except *kali hahapo* and *kali toloni* which are not usually included in the *koloa* from the men.

After *katoanga mali* is over, the foods left over are divided by the two families. The bride's people go back to their home, leaving her behind alone. In the evening, her mother visits his house to have bark cloth and mats ready for making the bed for the bridal night.

For an observer who would like to collect the data from both sides of the couple, a marriage with both partners from the same villages would be the best to observe. Unfortunately in Nukuleka, a small village, intra-[101] village marriage occurs seldom. Since I was able to know a better example of an intra-village marriage in Longoteme village, a much larger village, of the same island, I would like to have it described here for [184] better understanding the kinship behaviour connected with it. Longoteme is not significantly different from Nukuleka in the custom of marriage.

584 582 A boy (S) and a girl (K) were born in Longoteme. One day S told his parents about his wish to marry K, but they were opposed to the match because they thought that he was too young to marry and his elder brother had not married yet. S was nineteen years old and K sixteen at that time. S did not give up his idea, asking his younger sister to support him. At last she succeeded in persuading the parents for her brother.

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591 household, but economic necessity or expediency. So far
592 as household organization is concerned, what Leach wrote
171 about the Sinhalese could apply equally well to Tonga:
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> Although . . . the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the expression of social relationships, social behavior is not constrained by the prior existence of kinship corporations. It is not so much that the Sinhalese order their economic lives in accord with kinship relations as that their kinship relations are an expression of the way in which they order their economic lives (1960: 123).

592 The resources available to the Tongan household must
611 be sufficient to provide for three types of expenditures: expenditures for everyday material needs, periodic cash outlays, and contributions on ceremonial occasions.

The everyday material needs of a household on Tongatapu consist mainly of foodstuffs and fuel, plus petty cash for items such as bus fares, matches, and soap. Foodstuffs and fuel are derived mainly from locally-cultivated
262 subsistence products. A lot of tuberous vegetables are
264 eaten--about one pound per person per day. A typical everyday main meal consists of haka (a pot of boiled sweet-potato, manioc, yam, plantain, taro, or breadfruit--according to what is available on a seasonal or daily basis) plus a small amount of kiki ('relish'--i.e., some form of animal meat), or a stew (supo) made of the same ingredients. A modest morning or evening meal might consist only of cold leftovers or, in the morning, tōpai (a thick porridge of flour and water) and cocoa to drink. Kiki for the main

262 meal might be locally-caught fish or shellfish or canned
264 fish (imported), canned meat (usually corned beef), frozen
mutton (imported from New Zealand), or some pork or
chicken left over from a feast (for Tongans do not
slaughter their livestock to provide mere daily fare).
262 On more remote islands, people have to rely mainly on
fresh fish, which they catch themselves. On Tongatapu,
however, most kiki is purchased, and a little kiki goes
[435] a long way. A string of ten small fish, weighing about
three pounds in all, costs 50 cents; two pounds of
cartilaginous breast of mutton costs about 36 cents (these
are 1969-70 prices). Each of these amounts is sufficient
for kiki for a household of six or seven people. Other
everyday foodstuffs that are purchased include bread,
hardtack biscuits, flour, sugar, salt, tea, cocoa, and
[511] sweetened and dried condensed milk. The frequency and
amounts of such purchases varies mainly according to how
much cash is available.

592 A household must also have labor available to produce,
511 prepare, and make use of these products, hence the need for
'human capital'. This requirement is particularly evident
in the composition of one of the households in Motulahi,
where an elderly couple and their fourteen-year-old
[597] granddaughter comprised the household. I was told that
the girl had been adopted by them "ke tauhi kinaua--to

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The Discovery having recovered her small bower anchor Shifted Wed. 7
her birth, but not before the best bour Cable shared the same
fate as the other.[1] Had the Company of Feenough to dinner, and
also the next day when he was attended by Tapah, Toobow and Thur. 8
some other Chiefs, none but Tapah was allowed to sit at table with 648
him or to eat in the same place; before his arrival I had generally, 634
what with men and Women a larger company than I could find room 565
for. It is not here as at Otaheite, for the women to be denied the
previledge of eating with the men. The first day of our arrival the 264
Indians stole out of the Ship a larg[e] Junk ax,[2] I applied to Feenough 576
to have it again and it was brought on board while we were at dinner.
These people very frequently took oppertunities to shew us what 264
expert thieves they were, even some of the Cheifs did not think this 562
profession beneath them; one was caught carrying out of the Ship
concealed under his cloathes the bolt belonging to y^e Spun yarn 648
wench,[3] for which I ordered him a dozen lashes and made him pay a 685
hog for his liberty,[4] after this we were not troubled with thieves of
rank, their servants or slaves were employed in this dirty work, on [634]
which a floging made no more impression than it would have done [565]
upon the Main-mast; their masters so far from making intrest for [681]
them when they were caught would very often advise us to kill them,
and as this was a punishment we did not chouse to inflect they generally
escaped unpunished, because we could inflict nothing which
they thought a punishment. Capt. Clerke hit upon a method which [302]
had some effect, this was by shaving their heads for though it is not a
very uncommon thing to see both men and women with their heads
shaved, yet its being done on this occasion was looked upon as a mark
of infamy and marked out the man. On the 10th Feenough dined on Sat. 10 000

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[1] According to Griffin, 7 May, the *Discovery* first lost her best bower anchor, and then let go her small bower in 35 fathoms and veered to half a cable; the ship drove and the anchor hooked the *Resolution*'s cable. The stream anchor was then carried out to the eastward to keep clear of the *Resolution*. Next day they carried out the kedge anchor and warped the ship some distance from the small bower, by which means they got it unhooked from the *Resolution*'s cable, 'hove up the Anchor found the Buoy Crush'd to pieces, I suppose from its being drawn under the Resolutions Anchor. . .'.

[2] Axes, says Blanckley, *A Naval Expositor* (1750), 'are used for cutting up Junk or cleaving wood'. Junk was old cable cut into short lengths; it was teased out and used again for various shipboard purposes.

[3] i.e. winch. A small winch with a fly-wheel was used for making ropes and spun-yarn.

[4] 'An Indian of some consequence who was with Fēē'nōū stole [blank] on board for which he was severely flogg'd then had his hands tied firmly behind and was carry'd to the place where we traded on shore but not releas'd till a large hog was brought for his ransom. I am far from thinking there was any injustice in punishing this man for the theft as it cannot be determined what might be the consequence if such practices had been permitted but that he should be confin'd in a painfull posture for some hours after or a ransom demanded after proper punishment for the crime had been inflicted I believe will scarcely be found consonant with the principles of justice or humanity upon the strictest scrutiny.' —Anderson, 9 May.

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the circle increased pretty fast. At length Feenough came and took 643
his seat amongst the rest, some little conversation passed between 648
these two Cheifs which none of us understood, nor was we satisfied
with Omai's interpretation of it,[1] we were however by this time fully 634
satisfied who was the greater man of the two. I took them both
aboard to dinner but only Fattafee sat at table, Feenough made his [644]
Obiesance in the usual way and retired out of the Cabbin; this con- [576]
firmed what the King had before told us, that Feenough could
neither eat nor drink in his presence.[2] [264]

SUNDAY 8*th*. At 8 oclock the next Morning we wieghed and steered 648
for Tongataba having a gentle breeze at NE and about fourteen or [122]
fifteen sailing vessels in company every one of which considerably out
run us.[3] Feenough was to have taken a passage with us in the Ship but [634]
prefered his own Canoe and put two men on board to conduct us to
the best anchorage. We steered SBW by compass the Course the
Canoes steered; at 5 oclock in the evening we saw two small islands
bearing west about 4 leagues distant. Our pilots called the one Hunga 122
happi and the other Hunga Tonga;[4] they lay in the Latitude of 20°36′ [131]
and 10 or 11 leagues from the west point of Anamocka in the direc-
tion of [S 46° West].[5] We continued the same Course till 2 AM the next
morning, when seeing some lights ahead and not knowing whither
they were on shore or on board the Canoes, we hauled the Wind and
made a short trip each way till day-break, when we resumed our Mon. 9
course to the SBW. And presently after saw several small islands a 122
head and Middleburg and Tongatabu beyond them; the depth of
water at this time was 25 fathom over a bottom of broken coral and 133
sand. The depth of water gradually decreased as we drew near the
isles which lie ranged along the NE side of Tongatabu. By the direc-
tion of our Pilots we steered for the middle of the island and for
the widest space between the small islands with our boats ahead

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[1] 'Omai was still too much hurt at having taken a name that was not the highest, to interpret faithfully. . . .'—King.

[2] No inferior could eat or drink in the presence of his superior. We have in another entry for this date a little sign of shipboard friction which is interesting: 'I went on Shore with my Astronomical Quadt & the watch & observed equal altitudes of the Sun in order to determin its Error from mean time; & returned on board again in the Evening very safe, with the watch.—(after the most emminent Danger, & Difficulty of preserving the watch, owing [to] the Pride & obstinacy of our First Lieutt Mr Burney.)'—Bayly T. Burney may have been rather a trial to Bayly (cf. II, p. 155, n.), and perhaps Bayly was a bit too solemnly professional for Burney.

[3] 'These Canoes rund us nearly out of sight before the evening, they sail about 3 Miles to our two, in light winds. They carry about 50 People (& their luggage) in general. But are capable of carryin[g] as many more.'—Bayly T. [501]

[4] Hunga Ha'apai and Hunga Tonga, both high islands, about a mile apart. *Hunga*: 'turned towards'. They are about 31 miles northward of Niu Aunofo, the most northerly point of Tongatapu. Cook's course lay well to the east of them.

[5] These figures are a later insertion in the MS, probably by King.

of Captain Furneaux.[1] They brought each of them a hog and some 648
yams as a testimony of their friendship and I was not wanting on my 643
part in making them a sutable return.

At length about 2 PM we arrived at our intended Station, being a [431]
very snug place formed by the shore of Tongatabu on the SE and two 122
small islands on the East and NE: here we anchored in 10 fathom
Water over a bottom of owsey sand, distant from the shore one third
of a mile.[2] Soon after we had Anchored, I landed accompaned by 648
Omai and some of the Officers, we found the King waiting for us on
the beach, ready to conduct us to a small neat house, situated a little [643]
within the skirts of the woods with a fine large area before it; this [342]
house the Cheif told me was at my service during my stay and a
better situation we could not wish for. We had not been long in the
house before a pretty large circle of people were assembled before us
and seated on the Area. A root of the Cava plant was brought and [276]
laid down before the King, he ordered it to be split into pieces and
given to several people, men and women, to chew and a bowl of [574]
liquer was presently prepared. In the mean time a baked hog and [264]
two baskets of baked yams were brought and afterwards divided into
ten portions, each of these portions were given to certain people
present but how many each was intend[ed] for I could not tell, one
was sent to the Kings brother and one remained which I judged was
for himself as it was a choise bit. The liquor was next served out, but 648
the King seemed to give no directions about it;[3] the first cup was 643
brought to him, he ordered it to be give[n] to one who sat near him,
the second was brought him which he kept, the third was brought 276
me, I gave it to Omai for their manner of brewing had quenched my 574
thirst;[4] the rest was served out to different people by direction of the

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[1] We have no prior record of this friendship: the Tupou's are becoming rather confusing. Tupoulahi was the name of the last Tu'i Kanokupolu, and as Gifford writes (*Tongan Society*, p. 88), 'The frequent use of the name Tupou for the Tui Kanokupolu's relatives makes identification as difficult as with the Tui Tonga's relatives with whom the name Fatafehi was equally common'.

[2] The anchorage was in the harbour of Nuku'alofa, the present capital town of Tonga. Cook's description points to a spot in its eastern bight, almost two miles east of the existing pier. The 'shore of Tongatabu on the SE' was the arm of land, the northern side of the lagoon, which ends in the point called Holeva ('Observatory Point' on the engraved chart)—no doubt the 'uncultivated point' mentioned as 'our station', pp. 134–5 below—and the detached island Nukunuku. The small island to the east was 'Oneata, though it is not the only islet in that direction; that to the north-east was Pangaimotu ('Pangymaudoo' in Cook's paragraph below). This position is still recommended as the best for shelter and holding ground in the summer months, which is also the hurricane season; so the Tongans who directed Cook knew what they were doing, even though the month was June.

[3] Because he did not need to—except as Cook goes on to note his first direction as to a recipient—the ceremony being so much one of settled ritual. How strict the ritual was, at a formal kava-ceremony, and all its details, may be found from a study of the long description in Mariner, II, pp. 150–67.

[4] But, as Mariner points out, the Tongans were an exceedingly clean race, and only [123]

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648 man who had the management of it. A Cup was carri'd to the Kings
643 Brother, with which and his victuals he retired, as did some others
also, and the reason was they could neither eat nor drink before the
276 King; but there were others of a much inferior rank who did both.[1]
574 Soon after the most of them retired, each carrying with them what
victuals he or she had not eat. It is necessary to observe that not one
648 4th part of the Company had either Victuals or drink and some had
643 one and not the other: those who had the Victuals I took to be of the
276 Kings household. The Servants who served out the Victuals and
574 Cava always delivered it out of their hand siting, not only to the
King but to every other person. And altho this was the first time of
644 our landing, and a great many people present who had never seen
264 us before yet no one was troublesome, but the greatest good order
was Observed throughout the whole. Before I went on board I was
648 shewed some pools or holes of fresh Water as they were pleased to
call it; the Water in one was indeed tolerable but it was some distance
Wed. 11 in land and but little of it. The next morning I went over to the
312 island of *Pangymaudoo*,[2] near which we lay, to look for Water being
told there was some there; I was conducted to a small Pool that was
tolerable and had it cleaned out and here it was we watered the
122 Ships. As I intended to make some stay here I got all the Cattle a
shore,[3] a party of Marines with the officer for a guard, set up the
observatory and M^r King resided a shore to attend the observations
and superintend the several works carrying on there, for I had the

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[648] young persons who had clean mouths and good teeth were allowed to take part in the
[643] chewing. This was not a prolonged process, and the masticated root was kept dry. What
Cook calls 'brewing' was really infusing. He was not always put off by the sight of the
[276] process. 'Capt^n Cook often drank of it, holding it as an argument that seamen should eat
& drink every thing that came in their way, some of our Officers follow'd y^e good example
[574] set them, I must acknowledge either my want of taste or politeness for I could by no means
be brought to taste it in a mixture, contenting myself with taking it in y^e manner of y^e
[129] slaves, the least piece put in y^e mouth fills it with an instant glowing heat, it is nearest in
taste to y^e horse-radish of any thing I can recollect.'—Williamson, 17 July.

[1] '... what at first appears singular, is, that although neither his brother nor any great chiefs can eat before him, yet his own attendants do & sometimes with him, this cannot be suppos'd to degrade his dignity & lessen it, as they are not exalted sufficiently to claim any
[563] libertys he does not chuse to grant.'—King, 7 June. The reason for this exception to the
general eating rule was probably that those who were favoured were, as Cook says below, 'of the Kings household'—that is, they were *matapule*, and also *matapule* of foreign origin. The inconvenience of the eating *tapu*, and other varieties of *tapu*, carried to an extreme of consistency with personal attendants, might well be very great, but one who was rankless in any Tongan connection was exempt. Thus Hoakai (Samoan Soakai?) 'a matapule to the Tui Tonga, was privileged to eat with the Tui Tonga, a thing which no Tongan might do' (Gifford, p. 141).

[131] [2] Pangaimotu. It is a small island, less than a square mile in area and 15 feet high, 2¼ miles north-east of Nuku'alofa.

[825] [3] '... they were much surprizd at our Cattle and called them Boaha,la,hi; which signifies, large Hogs. ...'—Gilbert. The Tongan expression is *puaka lahi*. I have been told that the Tongans still refer to cattle and other livestock as 'Cook's pigs'.

upon an uncul[t]ivated point, so that there were no people who 485
properly lived within half a mile of us, but even at this distance,
amongst such a Multitude of strangers, one might have expected
their houses to have been much Crouded; it was quite otherwise, they
lived as retired as if there had not been a man in the neighbourhood;
all the Strangers lived in little temporary sheds and under trees and
bushes; the only thing that seemed to suffer was the Cocoa-nut trees,
which were striped of their branches to make sheds for the cheifs. In 764
this walk we met with about half a dozen Women in one place at
supper, two of the Company were fed by the others, on our asking 264
the reason, they said Tabu Mattee.[1] On further enquiry, found that 784
one of them had, two months before, washed the dead corps of a
Chief, on which account she was not to handle any Victuals for five
Months, the other had done the same thing to a nother of inferior
rank, and was under the same restriction but not for so long a time.
At a nother place hard by we saw a nother Women fed, she had assisted
in washing the Corps of the above mentioned Chief.

SATURDAY 21*st*. Early the next Morning the King came on board to 648
invite me to an entertainment he proposed to give the same day. He 643
had already been under the barbers hands, his head being all besmeared
with red pigment[2] in order to reden his hair which was [302]
naturally of a dark brown. After breakfast I attended him a shore and
found his people very busy in two places in the front of our area, 431
fixing in an upright and square position $\begin{pmatrix} \circ & \circ \\ \circ & \circ \end{pmatrix}$ four very long posts, 648
near two feet from each other. The space between the post[s] were 643
afterwards filled up with yams, and as they went on seized[3] sticks a
cross from post to post at the distance of about every four feet to pre- 417
vent the posts from seperating by the weight of the yams. When they
got to the top of these post[s] they fastened others to them and so
continued till each pile was the height of 30 feet or upwards. On the
Top of one they placed two baked hogs, on the top of the other a
living one and a nother they tied by the legs about half way up. It
was extraordinary to see with what facility and despatch they raised
these two piles, had our seamen be[en] ordered to do such a thing,
they would have swore it could not be done without Carpenters and
the Carpenters, not without a dozen different sorts of tools, and the
expence of at least a hundred weight of nails and after all it would

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[1] *tapu mate.*

[2] Probably some local ochre, as Cook uses the word 'smeared'. Powdered turmeric was often used, but does not seem to fit in to this description.

[3] A nautical use of the word, here merely meaning bound. Normally a rope would be seized to another rope or to something else, by binding the two parallel together.

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431 have imployed them as many days as it did these people hours: but
seamen like most other amphibious animals are always the most helpless
648 on land. But to proceed, after they had compleated these two
648 piles, they made several other heaps of yams & bread fruit on each
side the Area, to which were added a Turtle and a large quantity of
[417] excellent fish. All this was the Kings present to me and rather exceeded
that which I had from Feenough at Happi. In the afternoon
648 we had two or three of the [1] dances, after them a man
535 with a Club in his hand danced a harlequin dance with prodigious
agility. The evening as usual, was spent in dancing and singing in
which the King joined dressed in English manufactury. In order to
643 be present the whole time, I dined a shore, the King sat down with
644 us, but neither eat nor drank. This was on account of a Woman which
he desired might dine with us, who, as we afterwards understood, was
264 of superior rank to himself; as soon as she had dined she steped up
576 to the King who put his hands to her feet and then she retired. He
immidiately diped his fingers into a glass of wine and then received
the obeisance of all her followers. This was the only time and only
648 person we ever saw him reverence.[2] At the Kings desire I ordered
some fire works to be played off, they afforded little entertainment,
177 being some of those on board the Discovery and intirely spoiled. As
no more entertainments were to be expected on either side and the
Sun. 22 Curiosity of the populace pretty well satisfied, the next day the most
686 of them left us. We still however had thieves about us, incouraged by
the negligence of our own people, they were continualy commiting
648 some theft or a nother.

Some of the officers belonging to both Ships who had traveled into
648 the island unknown to me or indeed any body else and had been
686 absent two days returned this evening. They took with them their
Muskets with the necessary ammunition and several small articles
643 all of which the Natives found means to get from them in the Course
634 of their expedition. This affair was like to be attended with some ilconveniency,
for on their return they got Omai to complain to the

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[1] Cook has left a space here, evidently to supply with the name (presumably native) of the dance. We learn from Anderson that the first of three dances this afternoon was the paddle dance, *me'e-tu'upaki*, already seen, followed by one by women and another by two men, which was a *kailao* or dance with war-clubs.

[2] This woman, the female *Tamaha*, or 'sacred child', was the most sacred being in all Tonga. She was the eldest child of the marriage between the *Tu'i Tonga fefine*, the female Tu'i Tonga, herself extremely sacred, and one of the chiefs Tu'i Lakepa or Tu'i Ha'a Teiho, of the 'Fijian house' or *fale Fisi*. As Cook noticed, the sacred Tu'i Tonga paid the same ceremony of obeisance to her as all others did to him. Her position was such that she could have no recognized descendants. The name of this particular exalted personage was Moungalakepa; she was the daughter of the *Tu'i Tonga fefine* Sinaitakala III and Tu'i Lakepa Fehokomoelangi of Nukulau, Fiji. Latunipulu was her brother.

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651 tinued to sing short sentances, while a number of other men were
796 coming in with Yams, each tied to the middle of a pole. In the mean
time the King and the Prince came and seated themselves on the
[123] area, and we were desired to sit down by them, to pull of our hats and
untie our hair that we might appear the more decent. The men with the
[482] yams being all come in, each pole with the yam was taken up between
two men who carried it over their shoulders; and after forming themselves into companies of ten or twelve they marched a cross the place
with a quick pace each company headed by a man bearing a club or
spear and guarded on the right by several others armed with different Weapons. A man carrying a live Pigeon on a pearch Closed the
rear. Omai was desired to ask the Cheif where the yams were going
[644] to be carried to, he answered to be baked. This appeared probable
enough as we had been told that the occasion of this ceremony was
[643] him and his Son eating together, a thing that had never yet been
[264] done.[1] However as he seemed unwilling to give us the information we
wanted two or three of us followed them contrary to his inclination.
We found they had stoped before a Morai or Affiatouca,[2] which was
hardly a quarter of a Mile from the place where they first assembled;
here they were making up the yams in bundles but for what purpose
could not learn, and as our presence seemed to give them uneasiness
we left them and returned to the Cheif, who told us we might amuse
our selves by walking about awhile for that nothing would be done
for some time; the fear of loseing part of this Ceremony made us not
[784] be long absent. When we returned to the King he desired me to order
the boats crew not to stir from the boat, for as every thing would very
[688] soon be *Tabu*, who ever was found walking about would be *Mated*,
that is killed or beat. He also informed us that we could not be present
651 at the Ceremony, but that we should be conducted to a place where
796 we might see every thing that passed; objection were made to our
dress, to be present it was necessary we should be naked as low as the
123 breast with our hats off and hair untied. Omai offered to conform to

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[651] the present Keeper of the Palace Records at Nuku'alofa, informs me that 'the Tu'i Tonga
himself directed everything at the Inasi, no one knew exactly what would happen. There
[796] were no fixed rules. . . . Stories are told about the Inasi, but there are no details for the
actual ceremony itself and probably each Tu'i Tonga had his own arrangements for the
[643] performance.' Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 76–7) describes, from the memories of an aged
informant of things seen in his youth, a ceremony, '(or perhaps entertainment)', that
[644] seems to have been one of the last traces of ancientry; but clearly this was of the '*inasi*
proper. For what we may call 'the young Prince '*inasi*', Cook and Anderson remain the
only glasses in which we can see, darkly.

[1] Eating together would imply complete equality, as of two co-existent Tu'i Tonga.

[2] The two things are not the same. The *fa'itoka* was the tomb structure, though it
[764] could also be a definite area about the mound where a chief's important retainers and
[346] distant relatives were buried (McKern, p. 31). The *marae* (Tongan *mala'e*) was in this
context the open space for assembly in front of it.

513 night.[1] One would at first think this would produce the Contrary
643 effect to what is intended but it is not so, for it creates a very agree-
able and pleasing sensation. Omai and I now went to visit the Prince
644 who parted from us early in the evening, for he did not lodge with
the King but in apartments of his own, or such as had been alloted
him some distance from his Fathers; we found him with a Circle of
Boys or youths like himself before him, and an old Woman and an
old man who seemed to have the care of him siting behind; there
were others both men and Women who seemed to make a part of his
household, that were employed about their necessary affairs in differ-
648 ent apartments. From the Prince we returned to the King, by this
time he was up and had a crowded Circle before him, composed
643 chiefly of old men; while a large bowl of Cava was preparing a
276 Baked hog and yams Smoaking hot was brought in, the greatest part
264 of which fell to our share, that is to the boats crew, for these people
eat very little in a Morning and especially the Cava drinkers. I after-
512 ward walked out and visited several other Chiefs and found that all
of them either were or had been taking their morning draughts. Re-
512 turning to the King I found him a Sleep in a small retired hut with
two Women taping his[2] breech. About 11 oclock he got up, some fish
643 and yam, which tasted as it had been stewed in Cocoanut milk, was
brought him of which he eat a large portion and then laid down to
648 sleep again, when I left him to visit the Prince and to make him a
644 present of Cloth, Beads &c^a^ I had brought with me for the purpose;
there was sufficient to make him a compleat suit of Clothing, in
which he was immediately dress'd. He first went and shewed himself
to his Father, and then carried me to his Mother, with whom was
ten or a dozen other respectable looking Women. Here the Prince
changed his apparel and made me a present of two peices of their
648 Cloth. By this time it was pass'd Noon, when every one of us accord-
ing to appointment repaired to the Palace to dine and presently after
643 dinner was served up consisting of two Pigs and yams, I rouse'd the
262 King up to pertake of what he had provided for us. In the mean
time two Mullet and some shell fish was brought him as I supposed
for his dinner; he joined it to ours, sat down with us and made a
hearty meal.

651 Soon after dinner was over, we were told that the ceremony would

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796 [1] This was the sort of massage called *tukituki* (*tuki*, to strike). It served to relieve pain,
123 lassitude, and fatigue, says Mariner, to 'give very great ease, producing a soothing effect upon the system, and lulling to sleep'.—II, p. 233. There was a variant: 'Sometimes, when a man is much fatigued, he will lie on the ground whilst three or four little children trample upon him all over; and the relief given by this operation is very great'.—ibid.

[2] *his:* MS is.

291 the dress of both men and Women is the same, and consists of one piece about two yards wide and two and a half long, or so long as to go once and a half round the waist, to which it is confind by a girdle or cord; it is double before and hangs down like a petticoat as low as the middle of the leg. The upper part of the garment above the girdle is plaited into several large folds, so that there is cloth sufficient when [565] unfolded to come over the head but this is very seldom done. This as to form is the general dress, but large pieces of Cloth and fine Matting are only wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up with small pieces and very often wear nothing but a petticoat made of the leaves of plants, or the Maro,[1] which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting like a Sash, this they bring between the legs and wrap 292 round the waist; but this last is chiefly confined to the men. In their [535] great *Haivas*, or Dances they dress in various dresses which are made for the purpose but the method is allways the same; the richest dresses are those covered more or less with red feathers. When, or on what occation the Chiefs wear those large red feather bonnets I could never learn,[2] both men and women sometimes shade their faces from the Sun with little bonnits, made either of matting or other 301 materials. They also wear Neclaces some of which are composed of many little neat trinkets made of bone, mother of pearl and tortise shell.[3]

342 *Houses* The Houses of these people are of various sizes and like those of Otahiete consists chiefly of a thatched roof supported by [352] pillars and rafters desposed in a very judicious manner and the work- [264] man ship in many extremely neat, the floor is raised with earth smoothed and covered with strong thick Matting and kept very clean; they seldom eat in them, unless it rains. The most of them are inclosed on the weather Side and some more than two thirds round, with strong Mats or the branches of the Cocoanut tree plated or woven one into a nother; these they fix up edgeways and reach from the eaves to the 352 ground and answers the purpose of a wall. A thick strong Mat about 519 2½ or 3 feet broad, bent into the form of a simicircle and set up upon its edge with the ends against the wall, like unto the the fender of a fire hearth, incloses a place for the Master and Mistress of the family to sleep in, the lady indeed spends most of her time in it,[4] the rest of

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[1] Tongan *malo*.

[914] [2] This head-dress, the *fae* or *faefae*, was worn during times of festival or high ceremony, or at the outset of a war expedition.

[3] '. . . both Sexes wear Necklaces made of Shells, bones, & berries, & sweet smelling flowers, & have two holes (generally in one ear only,) thro which they thrust a round piece of Tortoise Shell about 3 Inches long or reed or bone. The Women have rings on their fingers make of Tortoise Shell.'—King.

[562] [609] [4] Cf. King: 'The roads about this place [the neighbourhood of the Observatory] are

the family sleep on the floor where ever they please to lay down, the
unmarried Men and women each by themselves, or if the family is 352
large they have small huts without to which they retire to sleep, so 513
that privacy is as much observed here as one can expect. They have
mats made on purpose to sleep upon, and the clothes that they wear [291]
in the day, serve them for covering in the night. Their whole furniture
consists in a bowl or two in which they make the Cava, a few
gourds, Cocoa nut shells, and some small wooden Stools which serve 352
them for pillows and and perhaps a large Stool for the Master of the 415
family.

Food and Cookery Their food and Cookery have been so often men-
tioned that it is almost needless to add any thing 262
further, Yams and Vegetables makes the greatest part of their food,
nay I beleive yams alone does, these they cultivate with much labour
and have them in very great perfection. Fish is prefered to hogs[1] and [231]
poultry which are the only tame animals they have except dogs; nor
is there any wild animals except rats and birds. Thier food is dressed [136]
generally by baking in the same manner as at Otahiete, and they
have the art of making from different kinds of fruit several dishes 252
which most of us esteemed very good. I never saw them make use of
any kind of Sauce, nor drink any thing at their meals, but water or 272
the juice of the coca-nut for the Cava is always drank in a morning.
I cannot say they are cleanly either in their Cookery or eating, the
generallity of them will lay their victuals upon the first leafe they 264
meet with be it dirty or clean but the Chiefs have their victuals [415]
generally served up on green plantain leaves. When the King made [a]
meal he was for the most part attended upon by three or four per- [643]
sons, one cut large pieces of the joint or fish, whatever it was, a [644]
another cut it into mouthfuls and others stood by with Cocoanuts and
what else he might want.[2] I never saw a large company sit down to
what we would call a sociable meal, that is to all eat from the same
dish; the Victuals, be what it will is always divided in to portions,

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wide, clean & cool, we had the Glimpse in many of the inclosures of pretty young women,
which convinced us that their principal ladies were kept out of our sight, as they were very [562]
shy. . . . In the inside of the dwelling houses, are matts spread on the Ground; & a thick
upright mat work 2 or 3 feet high which inclosed a Circular space for the Master & [609]
Mistress to sleep in, in the Night; & the principal women are fond of sitting within this
kind of fender or skreen in the day time out of doors.'

[1] The point here rather is that hogs were forbidden to commoners. All the land and its
products being regarded as the property of the Tu'i Tonga, he, and chiefs deriving their [565]
precedence from him, had priority over the mere *tua*. All pigs over a certain size were *tapu*
except for chiefs: even their 'owners' could not consume them. The same rule applied to [421]
large fishes, which had to be handed over on pain of severe punishment. [643]

[2] These persons were *matapule*, officials of near-chiefly status, though not chiefs, who were appointed for the purpose.

264 each to serve a certain number, these generally divide again, so that one seldom sees above two or three eating together. The Women are [565] not excluded from eating with the Men, but there are certain ranks or orders among them that can neither eat nor drink together; it begins with the King but where it ends I cannot say.[1]

128 *Amusements* Of their amusements I need add nothing to what has been already said on this su[b]ject in the account of the incidents that happened during our stay at the islands.[2] Polygamy is 595 *Polygamy* allowed to the Cheifs, and it is no uncommon thing to meet [565] with some who will tell us they have got eight or ten wives, but the most of them are satisfied with one at least many had no more. Some of us were of opinion, that the most of those which they called their wives were only concubines, and that there was only one that was looked upon as the wife and who always appeared to be the 837 Mistress of the family.[3] As chastity at first sight appeared to be held in no great estimation, we expected to have found frequent breaches of the conjugal fidelity in the Married Women or kept Mistresses, 836 which you please, but it was the very contrary. I do not know that our whole Stay produced one instance; neither are those of the better sort that are unmarr[i]ed more free of their favours, its true there are no want of those of a different stamp, and perhaps they are more numerous in proportion to the number of people than in many other Countries; but it appeared to me that the most, if not all of them, were of the lowest class of people, and such as came to our people were Whores by profession and brought to us in order to make the most of the present time.

164 *Diseases* This commerce has unhappily entailed upon them the Veneral deasease, as we had not been long at Anamocka before some of our people were affected with it, and I had the Mortification to find that all the care I took when I first Visited these islands to prevent this dreadfull desease from being communicated to them, prove enefectual. What is extraordinary the people do not

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[643] [1] The general rule was that inferiors could not eat with superiors: the Tu'i Tonga could not eat in the presence of the Tamaha, and so on down the whole scale of precedence. [644] There was also the brother-sister *tapu*, the sister being of higher rank than her brother.

[599] [2] '. . . to their private diversions may be added their household ones, the men have a game calld Kaka-'habo exactly like our Cup & ball. The Children have plays familiar to themselves, as throwing up 5 or 6 balls & catching each successively, this is mostly a Girls [524] diversion, the boys cut a string exactly in the same manner as we do a Garter & take off & on in various shapes & ways from the fingers, they walk on Coco nut shells as we do on stilts by means of a Cord thro: the hole of the Shell with many other plays like our Children.'—King.

[3] This was so, though to equate 'concubine' with 'kept mistress', as Cook does in his next sentence, is not quite happy. The word must be used in the technical polygamous social sense: a Tongan bride might bring her husband a *fokonofo*, a secondary or supplementary wife, selected by herself from her own family, perhaps a younger sister—or perhaps

and one of the Daughters lives at Hammoah, or Vaughwaugh, Latouleboula the son and the other Daughter at Tongatabu; the latter is she who is mentioned to have dined with me on the 22nd of June. 644 They were both frequently with us, but never appeared to be persons of consequence nor property. Latouleboula was looked upon by his country men as a Mad man, and many of his actions shewed they were not misstaken. At Middleburg I was shewed a good deal of land said to belong to him, and I saw there a son of his, a child, that they called by the same title as the father. The Son of the greatest Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little brat was.

Not only the King, but most of the great men have a kind of Levy 565 every morning, but the chief purpose of these meetings is to drink 276 Cava, or Kava, which one of the company treats the others with. It is generally, if not always prepared by the servants or toutous; the first 574 cup is brought to the principal person, who for the most part orders [512] it to be given to a nother, the second is then brought him, which he [643] drinks. Then as the others are filled, the person who fills them asks who is to have it and the person who gives the treat names the person and so it continues till the bowl is emptied. It is served out by the servants, who sit down when they deliver the cup, unless it be a meeting of inferior chiefs, than this ceremony is not observed, but great order is always kept up.

Of the Religion of these people, I know little more than what has 771 been occasionally mentioned. There principles and notions, nearly agree with the people of Otaheite; they acknowlidge the influance of 776 superior beings, one of whom is supreme and the rest subordinate. [771] The supreme being I have heard called by different names; the King called him Fattafee, and said that when he was angry he distroyed [184] the produce of the land by giving them no rain, the fish of the sea and punishes them with death, but when he was pleased he gave them health, long life and every thing in plenty, and this seem'd to be all they either feared or expected.[1] I think I may venture to assert that 182

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faku to his children. The complications and proliferations were endless, but enough ha been said to explain the anomaly of the sacred king doing homage to others who were no [644] kings, but merely sacred. For Paulaho, both Moungalakepa his niece, and Latunipulu hi nephew, were *faku*. The niece, the female, indeed, was more *faku* than the nephew: to [602] Moungalakepa the king did obeisance, and in her presence could not eat; in Latunipulu's presence he could not eat, but did not do him obeisance. [643]

[1] Tongan religion is a difficult subject indeed. There were many differences between [264] Tongan and Tahitian notions; for instance, the generally important Polynesian god Tane, Tu and Rongo did not appear on the Tongan scene. But Tangaroa or Tangaloa did, and it was he who fished up the Tongan islands out of the sea. He fathered the first [771] Tu'i Tonga, Aho'eitu, by a Tongan woman called Ilaheva—and hence perhaps the semi-divine Paulaho's reference to him as Fatafehi. But the distinctive Tongan principal god, [771] shared with Samoa but no other Polynesian island, was Hikuleo; he and the other gods or [773]

[775]

764 remarkable except a Fyatocka of one house standing on an artificial mount at least thirty feet high. A little on one side there is a pretty 644 large open Area and not far from it a good deal of uncultivated ground, which upon enquiring why it lay waste they seem'd to say 311 belong'd to that place which was Poulahos, and not by any means to be touch'd. There was also at no great distance a number of E'toa 196 Trees on which clung millions of the large Ternate Bats[1] making a disagreeable noise. We could not kill any at this time for want of muskets, but some that were got at Anna'mooka measur'd near three feet when the wings were extended.

On returning our host orderd the hog that had been dress'd to be 648 brought, with several baskets of bak'd yams and some Cocoa nuts, 574 but we found that instead of his entertaining us we were to entertain 264 him, the property of the feast being entirely transferr'd to us his guests who were to dispose of it as we pleas'd. The person who cleand [262] it in the morning cut it up (but not before we desird him) in a very dexterous manner with a knife of split Bamboo, dividing the several parts with such quickness and hit the joints so exactly that surpriz'd us very much. The whole was set down before us, though at least fifty pound weight, untill we took a small piece away and desir'd they would share the rest amongst the people sitting round, but it was not without a great many scruples they did that at last, and then ask'd what particular people they should give it to. They were however very well pleas'd when they found it not contrary to any custom of ours, some carrying off the portion that was given them and others eating it on the spot, but it was with great difficulty we could prevail on Futtafaihe himself to eat a small bit.

After dinner we went with Futtafaihe and five or six people who 765 attended him to the same place where Poulaho had carried us in the [114] morning the last time we were at Mooa, but not into the inclosure. They hung some leaves about their neck in walking to it as he had [824] done, and when we came to a large open boat house where a few people were they threw away their leaves, sat down before it and [304] gave their cheeks a few gentle strokes with the fist, after which they sat for about ten minutes with a very grave appearance & went away [292] without having spoke a single word. Every person who went to this house of mourning had a mat tied over the cloth they wore which was also the case the day Poulaho went. This explaind what Poulaho had mentiond about Tooge, though from the beating only lasting a few seconds he had not been observ'd to do it; and this seems only a

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[1] *Pteropus tonganus*; Cf. Bayly, II, p. 263, n. 3. This was evidently the bat that the Tongans called *[illegible]*.

continuation of the mourning ceremony by way of condolance, for
upon enquiring who it was done for they said it was a chief who had 765
died at Va'vaoo some time ago, that they had practic'd it ever since
and would do it for a considerable time longer.

In the evening we had a pig dress'd as the hog with Yams and 648
Cocoa nuts brought for supper, and Futtafaihe finding we did not 574
like the scruples they had made before to accept of any part of the
entertainment, ask'd us immediately to share it & give it to whom we 264
pleas'd. When supper was over abundance of cloth was brought for 262
us to sleep in but we were a good deal disturb'd by an odd custom, at
least amongst the better people, of being beat while they are asleep. 519
Two women sat by Futtafaihe and perform'd this operation, which is
call'd Tooge Tooge,[1] by beating briskly on his body and legs with
both fists as if on a drum till he fell asleep, and continued it the
whole night with some short intervals. After being asleep they abate
a little in the strength & quickness of the beating, but resume it if
the person is likely to wake, and towards the morning we found the
women relievd each other by turns & went to sleep. In any other
country it would be suppos'd such a practice would put an end to all
rest, but here it certainly acts as an opiate and is a strong proof of
what habit may effect. The noise made by this was however not the 521
only thing that prevented our resting, for the people who slept in the
house not only convers'd amongst each other frequently as in the 264
day but all got up in the midst of the night & made a proper meal of 262
fish and yams, which were brought to them by a person who seem'd
to know very well the appointed time for such things.

[JULY 1777]

TUESDAY JULY 1st. The wind N and NNW. Gentle breezes with fine 132
weather. In the morning we set out with Futtafaihe and walk'd down
the east side of the Bay to the point that is opposite Hoolaiva. The 114
country all along this place is very well cultivated but in general not 648
so much inclosd as at the bottom, and amongst many others that are
very large we pass'd one plantane field at least a mile long which was 311
in excellent order, every tree growing with great vigour and not a 245
bit of grass to be seen. We found that in travelling Futtafaihe
excercis'd a power, though by no means wantonly, which pointed 643
out the great authority of some of the principal men, or is perhaps
only annex'd to the royal family; for he sent to one place for fish, to
another for yams &c and so on at other places, which were always
brought with the greatest readiness as if he had been absolute master

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[1] *tukituki.*

[1777]

352 stiff kind of mat that stands by itself & forms a low partition, which is
[285 also us'd to hang around the part of the house open to the wind in
[513 bad weather. Women of consequence sometimes sit in their houses
[562 in the day surrounded or enclos'd with one of these mats, seemingly
[565 with no other intention than to indicate their superior rank. They
seem to have no set time for meals (though it should be observ'd that
264 during our stay amongst these people their domestic œconomy seems
much disturb'd from their constant attention to us), for the better
276 sort only drink Kava in the forenoon and the others eat perhaps a bit
512 of Yam; but we have commonly seen them eat sometime in the
afternoon, and it would appear that the practice of making a meal in
the night is pretty common as their rest being disturbd in the night
makes them frequently sleep in the day, although they go to bed as
262 soon as dusk at night and get up at dawn in the morning. The
greatest part of their Vegetable diet is Yams, Plantanes and Cocoa
nuts: of their animal food the chief is hogs, fowls, fish, all sorts of shell
fish, and the lower people eat rats. The two first articles with bread
fruit are what may be call'd the basis of their food, which they have
at different times of the year with fish and shell fish, for hogs, fowls
252 & turtle seem only to be ate occasionally by the better people. The
intervals between the season of these things must be sometimes
considerable, as they prepare a sort of artificial bread from plantanes
which they put under ground before ripe, and suffer them to remain
till they ferment, when they are taken out & made up into small
balls, but so sour & indifferent that they often said our bread was
262 preferable though somewhat musty.[1] They also use great quantitys of
the Nuts call'd E'eefee at these times, which is coarser and less
agreeable than our Chesnuts.

252 The method of dressing these things is entirely in the kind of oven
us'd to bake the hogs with, but they sometimes roast the Vegetables
[415 on an open fire, and though they have a few earthen globular pots
[177 they get them from Feejee and are never apply'd to that purpose.
They are as yet almost strangers to the thousand destructive luxurys
which cookery has invented, but nevertheless have a few artificial
dishes, such as a soft pudding made of Talo and other roots with
Cocoa nut scrap'd into it,[2] which gives an agreeable smoothness to
262 every thing dress'd with it. There is also another very palatable sort
in which is put aromatic leaves as seasoning, and they prepare a dish

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[1] This, if accurately observed, is a variation on what Mariner, II, p. 200, calls 'Ma me; fermented breadfruit'. Churchward pleasantly defines *ma* as 'a kind of ensilage (but for human consumption)'; *mei* is breadfruit. Anderson in his own vocabulary explains 'Maa' as 'A sour plantain, by being put underground'.

[2] *po'oi.*

not unlike thick Sago or jelly from the Ma'whaha root, which doubtless affords a great quantity of nourishment; but the most palatable 262 dainty, at least to us, is the bak'd root of the Sugar cane & Jeejee[1] which is but seldom met with. A dish of Vegetable and another of fish or other animal food commonly satisfys them, but we have seen Poulaho have four besides his yams for dinner, as bak'd pork, the Crow of the hog dress'd differently, the Talo tops as greens boild or rather sodden in oil or fat, and a bak'd Cuttle fish.

They seldom eat in their houses, but in fine weather sit down under 264 the shade of a large tree and have their meal brought in baskets of Cocoa leaves to them, which is commonly divided into as many 415 portions as there are people and laid before them in plantane or other leaves, with a small reserve in case any one should wish to eat more than his first share. They have some hollow'd wooden dishes but are not so commonly us'd as the leaves. Their only knives & forks are a bit of Bamboo or their hands, but many of the principal 264 people have each mouthfull (which ar[e] commonly very large) of [412] fish or pork prepard and laid upon a piece of yam by a servant, so that they have only the trouble of putting it into their mouths. In general they are moderate eaters, but their method of feeding does 262 not seem to agree with their personal cleanliness, as they make no [261] scruple of eating their pork (which is seldom dress'd about the head & neck from placing it in a round oven) quite raw and bloody and very frequently fish just as they are caught, as well as all sorts of shell fish, some of which are reckon'd a great delicacy in that state especially a particular part of the large Cockle. They are also very fond of every thing that is fat, and to procure that will even dress their shark cut up into large pieces by putting a large piece of the liver between two pieces of the fish, which doubtless yields a very rank oil: but what is worse they will often eat the vermin from their own heads, and have been seen to lick up the matter squeez'd from a boil with their fingers. Their drink at meals is the juice or water of the Cocoa 272 nut, a natural liquor so agreeable that all who taste must prefer it unless habituated to some pernicious artificial one. Nature seems in some measure to have supplied her scanty allowance of water to them from fitting their country to produce large numbers of these, and in great perfection; but it is not the only provision in this case, for they often scrape down the kernel of the nut and by mixing it with water make a fine milky liquor which renders even that naturally disagreeable article pleasing. When the meal is finish'd they always 264

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[1] This reminds one of the New Zealand use of Ti, *Cordyline australis*, the brother of the 'Jeejee'. 515

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

264 wash their hands with a piece of the plantane tree broke and rubb'd
515 over them, the husk of the cocoa nut or any thing that has moisture, which serves on all occasions and is a lesson necessity (from the scarcity of water) has certainly taught them.

The situation of their houses was mention'd before; but notwith-
517 standing their method of life requires they should be much scatterd,
361 that each man may cultivate his own ground, they are very fond of associating together, so that it is common to find several houses empty and the owners conven'd in some other one or a convenient spot in the neighbourhood, where they recreate themselves by
533 conversing and other amusements. Their private diversions are
[535 chiefly singing, dancing and music perform'd by the women. When
[517 one, two or three or more women sing in concert & snap the fingers it is calld oo'bai,[1] but when there is a great number they divide into several partys each of whom sings on a different key which makes a
[535 very agreeable music and is call'd Heeva. In the same manner they vary the music of their flutes by playing on those of a different size,
535 but their dancing is much as when they perform publickly. The dancing of the men (if it is to be call'd dancing) although it does not consist much in moving the feet as we do, has a thousand different motions with the hands to which we are entire strangers. They seem to be as numerous as all the steps in our different dances taken together, & perform'd with an ease and grace which is not to be
[868 describ'd, nor conceiv'd but by those who have seen them. It appears indeed to be one of the principal articles of their education, for the boys when very young are constantly practising them and at no great
526 age perform them as dexterously as those that are grown up. There are some others which may be calld their house diversions practic'd by the grown people, one of which nam'd Kaka'habo[2] is exactly upon the same principle as our Cup and ball. It is done by fastening a bit of Tortoise shell, four inches long & one broad with the ends turn'd up above an inch & fork'd, across the end of a small rod about four feet long, near the other end of which a small round gourd shell is fix'd with a string just of a sufficient length to allow its being thrown into the tortoise shell. They also fasten the hard round seed of a plant larger than a musket ball to each end of a string about two feet long,

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[1] *'upe*. The word has changed its meaning, being now equivalent to 'lullaby'. But it must always have had a wide significance: Mariner says (II, p. 217) '*Oobe*. This kind of singing is always accompanied with the *fango-fango*, (or nose-flute). The subjects of the song are much the same as those last described, but the style of music is different, being more monotonous and grave.' The songs 'last described' were 'descriptive of scenery . . . descriptive of past events, or of places which are out of their reach, such as *Bolotoo* and *Papalangi*.'

[2] Mariner calls the game 'habo', and says it was practised by women only. *Hapohapo* is to keep on throwing something up and catching it.

784 enter'd by the people, the Ceremony call'd Natche was Taboo'd to
[764] all but those assisting in it, and in short it is the common expression
when any thing is not to be touch'd, unless the transgressor will risque
[651] some very severe punishment as appears from the great apprehension
they have of approaching any thing prohibited by it. In some cases
784 it appears to resemble the Levitical law of purification, for we have
764 seen several women who were not allow'd the use of their hands in
264 eating but were fed by other people. On enquiring the reason of it at
one time they said that one of the women had wash'd the dead body
of the chief already mentiond who died at Tonga, and another who
had assisted was in the same predicament, though then a month
784 after the circumstance happen'd. It also serves as a temporary law or
edict of their chiefs, for sometimes certain articles of food are laid
262 under the restriction, and there are other circumstances regulated in
101 the same manner as trading &c when it is thought necessary to stop
it; nay it is probable that the additional word taboo to the name of
the island which is simply Tonga has been added from this very
custom as expressing its singularity.

From the extent and rigid severity with which some of these
784 mourning and religious ceremonys are executed one would expect to
[775] find they think it would secure them felicity in a future life, or some
other material good, which is really the case but it relates to things
merely temporal, for they seem to have little conception of future
punishment for faults comitted in this life. They however believe
that they are justly so on earth and consequently use every method
to avoid or rather not to deserve the punishment annex'd to them.
[776] The supreme Author of most things they call Kalla foo'tonga[1] who
they say is a female, resides in the skys and directs the thunder,
[821] winds, rain and some other things that seem to proceed from thence.
[821] They alledge that when she is angry with them the productions of
[753] the earth are blasted in consequence of it, many things are destroyed
by lightning, and they themselves are afflicted with sickness & death
[761] as well as hogs & other animals—evils so great to them that it is no
wonder they should endeavour to avert them by all the means in their
power. When this anger abates every thing is restor'd to its natural
order and it would appear they think it a consequence of their
776 endeavours to appease it. They have no representation of this
divinity, who they say is invisible, but there is little doubt that they
778 pay that adoration due to their ideas of her power and perfection,
though not discoverable from any particular external posture that

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[1] Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 289–90) thinks this goddess was properly named Calla [?Kala] Filatonga, but otherwise cannot identify her.

neither punctur'd nor circumcis'd as all his subjects are,[1] and when he 643
sits down it is always by himself, the people seating themselves before
him at a distance in a circle or rather semicircle. No inferior chief, [304]
not even his brother, can eat in his presence though his servants
sometimes do, but not before they have paid him the usual mark of 643
obeisance and wash'd their hands. This last mark or touching the foot 644
call'd Mòė Mòėa is frequently paid to the other chiefs, but on public 576
occasions every one presses to salute the King in that way with great [264]
eagerness, while the others are scarcely notic'd, in so much that it
sometimes becomes troublesome to him, & few enter a house where he
is that neglect it, either at coming in or their departure. The women
also frequently perform more than this simple method of salutation,
for they not only touch the chin, cheek & crown of the head with his
foot but strike it with great force against their breast. When he leaves [695]
the island the same respect is paid the son intended as his successor,
and indeed at all other times, or if he leaves any particular article
that belongs to him, as a piece of cloth or vessel of any kind, they are
oblig'd to Moe Moea to it in his absence; but if we understood them
properly this inanimate representative posesses a power quite supernatural,
for they say if a person steals any thing and amongst others
is put to the test by touching this he will certainly confess when it
comes to his turn, or if not will afterwards certainly die for his impiety
or presumption. H[e] is said to be the only person allow'd to practice 643
Polygamy, and as a mark of regal distinction wears a bunch of flags 595
or palm leaves as colours to his Canoe exactly in the manner of our
Ensign, calld Goola.[2] Another mark of respect paid to his family is the 643
inferior people being obligd to lower their Yams which they carry on
a pole from their shoulder and, holding them in their hand, stand 644
aside till those have pass'd by. We have also observ'd that food of all 576
kinds both dressd and raw were brought him at all times of the day [482]
from different places, which he generally ordered to be distributed [264]
amongst his attendants, and that seemingly without any previous
notice having been given; from whence it is probable each person
knows the stated time he is to furnish him with a certain quantity of
provision, especially as we never observ'd any kind of store near his
house. In short, if not actually at least nominally he enjoys the 643
privileges, power & respect of a very potent person—especially as

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[1] Superincision rather than circumcision was the Tongan custom. The Tu'i Tonga was too sacred to be allowed to undergo pain in his own dominions, so that if he were to be tattooed it would have to be in some other island—e.g. Samoa.

[2] The word for flag or ensign is now *fuka*. One of the meanings of *kula*, or 'Coola', says Mariner, 'is a species of the paroquet'; so it is possible that the use of it Anderson gives was a metaphorical one.

presented us with consisted of Fish and Yams baked, which were 648
very well cooked.

After he saw our people make themselves welcome he went to his 609
own Supper, which consisted also of baked Yams & Fish with the 643
addition of some pudding made of the meat of the Cocoa nut, some [431]
Cocoa nuts stripped of the Husk & some Cups filled with good fresh
Water; the Men who brought the Provisions went away as soon as 644
they had laid down their loads, and as they retired paid their respects
to Powlohow by sitting down cross legged & rising again immediately; 643
the Table off which he supped was a clean Matt laid 264
upon that he sat upon, a basket was opened from which some fresh [262]
Plantain Leaves were taken out, unfolded & laid upon the Matt [271]
before him, & the Yams & fish laid upon them, but the Pudding
remained in the Leaves in which it had been prepared. Two Chiefs[1] [576]
waited upon him, poured some water on his Hands while he washed [516]
them, peeled his Yam & picked the Fish & then fed him, one
putting Fish in his Mouth the other Yam. He did not eat much: as
soon as he had done the two feeders got their Supper, & then every
thing was removed & what was not eaten put into the Baskets & put
by in the House, they eat their Supper just without in the open air.
Soon after Supper was over He desired the two Chiefs to make preparations
for his going to sleep, on which they unrolled & spread out 644
on the floor of the House a large Matt & after that a great parcel of 643
Cloth & laid one of their Wooden bolsters at hand. Powlohow soon 513
laid down & addressed himself to sleep, and the Chiefs covered him [352]
over with the Cloth & then laid themselves on each Side of him.

In a few minutes after a young Woman came into the House & sat down by him, it was naturally concluded that she was one of his Mistresses but in this we were mistaken; her office was to lull the old King to rest by tapping him with both Hands as quick as possible
on different parts of his body. He was much troubled with an [164]
asthmatick Complaint which frequently waked him, on which the
young woman immediately renewed the Tuggee tuggee[2] as it is called & laid him again asleep. After having been about an hour and a half busily employed in this manner, finding him fast asleep she respectfully kneeled down & took her leave of him by kissing his feet & touching them with her head, however there are always women in
waiting in case he should happen to wake. Everything had gone on 177
hitherto very quietly at the Tents, but in the night the Guard was
alarmed with the Cry of Murder help &c. A file of Marines went 648
directly to the place where the Cry was heard, where they found one

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[1] *metapule*, titled ceremonial attendants.

[2] *tukituki*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Excursions into different parts of the Country, among others I shall 648
here mention the reception that four of us met with on a Visit we
paid to Toobow, a Chief of the first Consequence who lived about 3 609
or four miles along shore to the Eastward of our Tents. On our arrival 565
being made known to him by the great Croud that accompanied us [431]
the old Chief came out of his Inclosure & met us on the highway, &
then conducted us to his House where we were entirely free from the [576]
Croud, none of whom dared to follow us into his Inclosure; he desired
us to sit down which we did & then made him a present of Nails
& other things, for which he thanked us by putting each article to his
head, which is the Custom of these people on receiving any Gift; after
a little while his wives of which he has 2 or 3 came in & sat down with
us, first having paid their respect to Toobow by touching his foot
with their Heads & then with the back & palm of their Hands, and
this Ceremony they always use on coming to his presence as well as on
leaving him. He made some apologies to us in that he was not able to 648
get us any thing for dinner but fish, all the Hogs being at this time
under a Taboo as they had supplied the Ships with as many as they 609
could spare, & this shews How strictly the Chiefs themselves observe 262
those Laws which they make for the public Good. However we made [184]
an excellent Dinner of baked fish & yams, & having brought some
Brandy with us which mixed with the Cocoa nut Milk makes a most
excellent Drink we were not in a Humour to find fault, on the
Contrary we spent a merry afternoon. Toobow having provided a 648
Company of dancers to entertain us, we in our Turns entertained
with Country dances on the green before the House, at which Toobow 609
was much delighted, & we were altogether so pleased with our 836
honest Host & the cordial manner in which he entertained us that
we resolved to stay at his House all night, & to encourage us in this [264]
resolution He promised to procure a mistress for each of us, we wanted [262]
no more & Toobow was as good as his word. About 12 o'Clock we [513]
were waked by the Servants to a repast of fish & yams which was
provided for us (it seems to be a common Custom with these people
to eat ab^t that time of night), we partook of some of it with our
Dulcineas who were all fine Girls & did Honour to Toobow's
Hospitality, we all laid together in one room upon Matts & were
covered with a large Quantity of Indian Cloth. One Girl hearing a [833]
rustling of the bed Cloaths at one time of the Night cried out
'Cohaiia'[1]—ie. what is the matter? the other who was the occasion of
it & then employed ab^t some business or other very innocently

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[1] *ko e ha.*

[1777]

512 They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or
[515] in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring &
533 sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked
yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked
276 yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes
574 the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water
264 with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk,
[262 not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are
served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often
271 brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a
272 dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa
565 nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will
264 employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing
262 material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in
Capt^n Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play
252 upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before
171 their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which
533 they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young
men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors.
521 The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious
535] Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a
day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the
[226 Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures
others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the
Fish, which they catch in that manner.

Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work
351 about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appear-
417 ance. To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of
Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the
inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality
361 of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa
342 nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small
& contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong
362 square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the
ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the
Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are
352 quite open. The Married people are seperated at night from the rest
by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them,
& these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally
[415] to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their
[411] Houses consists of the Garee[1] or Stools which they use for Pillows,

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[1] *kali.*

and Plantations in the Neighbourhood. We understood that this Ceremony 175
was to qualify the Youth to eat before his Father; for by a confounded
unsocial Law which they have among them, no two great people can eat 361
or drink in each others Sight. When two of these Agee's met, either at
Capt Cooks Table or mine, the man of least rank always retir'd; any great 175
Man, will have his dependants or any other of his Inferiors, who are of no 264
particular distinction, eating and drinking about him, but no two People 565
of the first Consequence will eat or drink in the presence of each other, but
to return to Powlahow; We were not enough acquainted with the Lan- [644]
guage to understand the various Harangues upon this Occasion, so that all [651]
our Observations were confined to the outward Order and method of it. [123]
From its solemnity it must be a religious business, but what seems extra-
ordinary in such a kind of Undertaking is, nobody but the Gentry were 175
suffer'd to act in it, or even to see it, for before the processions began,
there were parties of people with Clubs sent about to clear the Streets and 644
knock any body on the head that dare violate the prohibition so far as to 651
be seen abroad during such a particular Time. Tho' we were there by the
particular Invitation of the King, we were not suffer'd openly to look at [123]
them, but were put behind a Bamboo hedge just by, where however by dividing the Bamboo's a little we cou'd see tolerably well. The Scene was acted upon a large Grass Plot, nearly in the middle of which was run up a little Slight Shed purely upon this Occasion; under this Shed was seated the young Prince (a fine well grown Youth of about 14 or 15, so swaddled in Cloaths as to be almost unable to move) with a few of the Nobles about him; when the Father, King Powlahow arriv'd he sat down at some distance with only 2 of his People with him, and was as far as I cou'd observe merely a Spectator throughout the business. About 10 yards from this Shed were seated a number of Gentlemen, for every man of consequence throughout the Land was assembled upon this Occasion. Whilst matters were in this situation, various little ceremonies pass'd which were altogether mysterious to me, so can say nothing of their purport; presently arriv'd the procession in very solemn order, it consisted of 600 of the principal People of the Island, each two carrying a stick between them upon their Shoulders, on which was tyed a sample of some particular produce of the Isle, and on some a few Fish; upon the arrival of these, those Gentlemen who were sitting at a distance from the Shed rose up and they all went together and sat themselves down as near as convenient to the Prince, and there in a very serious manner offer'd him the various Samples they had brought; some particular People whom I shou'd suppose to be Priests, making a Speech at every particular one. Soon afterwards arriv'd 30 Agee or Principal Women each two carrying a piece of white Cloth between them, which was offer'd him in the same manner. After this Ceremony was over, the business of the day was ended and every one went about his Business. The next day the same kind of form took place in every particular, and all Matters were conducted as on the day before as far as I cou'd perceive, only that after the Ceremony was done with the

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

had come down, one man behav'd very rude & tried to snatch a tool, on 175
which the centry fird & hit the man who made off, & those with him. At 177
the same time at another place where they had been throwing pieces of
Coco nut to vex some of the Officers they were chas'd, but as numbers were 609
flying it was not possible to know who were the Agressors, however three
were seiz'd on & bound, till the Captⁿ came on shore; one of the three was
an old Offender, & another was also known to be a principal in making
disturbances, but in the present case was not guilty, the third had been
lug'd out of a hut where it was said he had hid himself; this man was a
servant of Powlahow, who always handed him his Victuals, he said he had
been asleep when this fray happend; Fatafee desir'd he might be releas'd
but his request was refus'd, & he went away. Feenow tried if he coud buy
him off, but as some of the Gentlemen thought they knew the man to be an
Offender, the Captⁿ would hear nothing in any of their favours, but had
them tied up & well floggd; the servant had an additional punishment
besides flogging, which savour'd of cruelty, & gave great offence to the
Chiefs, as well as to all the standers by.[1] The Centry's fyring & this
Punishment put a stop for a time to their insolent behaviour. I shoud have [171]
mention'd one circumstance which shews a strong similitude in the customs
of these People & those of Otaheite: that the wives or relations of some of [593]
these culprits came, & made terrible lamentations, cutting the top of their [304]
head with a Sharks tooth, as is practis'd there.

ff. 85v–86. [8 JULY.] A very extraordinary personage went along with me 175
call'd Latoonoobooloo, he who was shewn to the Captⁿ last Voyage as the 177
first Chief & whom we had seen at Happai; he had frequently visit'd us at 571
the Observatory, but made a short stay at a time; his temporary hut was
on the outskirts of all the rest; he is much madder than his sister whom we 644
have noticed as receiving that particular homage from Powlohow, who 604
we judge from an instance to day is also inferior in some respects to the 565
brother, although in others higher, since this mad fellow walkd in the [609]
procession as a common chief; he was wanting to give me a hog, & not [576]
knowing where else to find me but at Powlohows house, he came there [264]
roaring out for me; Poulohow had just begun his dinner, but the coming
in of this man made strange confusion, the dinner was hastily remov'd or
coverd over with cloth. Powlohow sat seemingly vexd, & very grave, the
attendants star'd at one another; Latoonoobooloo on seeing Powlohow sat
himself down with that strange aspect which was common to him; I
rous'd him from his seat & relievd the Company by taking him & his
attendants with the hog away with me; Although the People were very
conscious of his being wanting in his mind, yet they paid him great respect
& deference, & if he chose any thing they had, he woud take it from them
& give it me; upon farther enquiry who & what this singular person was,
we were told he was the son of Powlohows aunt (living at Va va hoo) by a
Feegee man. There is another sister besides the one here, who lives with her 175

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[1] This was the arm-slashing, which outraged some of Cook's officers also.

362 Since these are also the best endowed areas for *'api tukuhau*, the
recent migrant is likely to build in indigenous material while those in
paid employment can afford and are likely to build a house entirely of
imported materials. Table V demonstrates that 43 per cent of those
household heads living in houses constructed of composite materials and
53 per cent of those living in houses constructed of indigenous materials
were employed in agriculture. Furthermore, of those living in composite
housing only 30 per cent had been born outside Tongatapu.

[369] The overall design, internal and external arrangements of
these houses differ little from those of the countryside and this
again demonstrates the persistence of traditional modes of life within
the town. Many houses adhere to the traditional apsidal or oval
floor plan but even those with non-traditional rectangular floor plans
are arranged to meet the flexible demands of sleep and entertainment.
[593] Adolescent boys have a separate sleeping hut in keeping with the
[343] traditional practice of brother-sister avoidance. Living, eating,
cooking and washing activities take place in separate buildings in
[171] keeping with practices traditional to much of Polynesia.

511 Tongans living in houses of composite materials have more
184 copra driers on their *'api kolo*, clear evidence of their active
involvement in agriculture. They own more horses and carts, buy less
[264] imported food than those living in large wooden houses. They are
more likely to follow the rural practice of eating two and not three
meals a day (see Table VI). Their women folk are more involved in
the making of tapa in the *kautaha koko'anga*, in making other Tongan
handicrafts, and are active in attendance at the *fale hiva* or choir
house of the local church.

443 A town's bazaar sector, labour intensive and family directed,
[369] is considered by some students of Asian cities to bear at least close
resemblance to and have close links with the rural peasantry and
therefore deserves some brief mention here. The bazaar sector in
[433] Nuku'alofa is not well developed. This is because the Tongan economy
itself is underdeveloped, consequently offering fewer opportunities.
The main activities in the bazaar sector are small-scale trading from
single room shops which sell at prices slightly in excess of the
European firms from where they have purchased their goods; the
hawking of handicraft goods mainly to tourists; and the sale of
primary produce such as ground foods, kava, Tongan oil and shellfish.
443 In some cases the people involved are middlemen acting for villagers,
and one group, the *fakafefine*, have some form of loose cooperation
441 which cuts across kin affiliations. The *fakafefine* (the word means
"like a woman") work in teams, each team jealously guarding its round
of customers. Some have groups of women manufacturing the articles
they sell and most have trading arrangements beyond Nuku'alofa and

handed to people in the outer group who chewed it, spat it out 276
neatly on to a leaf, and then handed it back to the kava maker 574
who put it in the bowl.) The kava maker puts the pounded kava root in the bowl and begins to knead it with his hands, and water is poured in by the kava maker's assistants – all of these actions being carried out according to fixed ceremonial orders chanted by the presiding matāpule. The pouring in of the water is one of the most sacred moments of the ceremony and all conversation stops. Then the matāpule calls out to mix
the kava and to strain it. While the kava maker is straining the 276
kava conversation is resumed, speeches may be made, and if 574
there is food some of it is ceremonially divided and distributed 264
to each titleholder in the main circle. The titleholders do not eat their food, however. They call for their respective 'grandchildren of high rank' to come from the outer group and take the portions of food away. Then all the remaining food is ceremonially given to the matāpule on the left of the presiding chief, who orders men from the outer group to take it away. After the ceremony is over this food is divided among the participants.

Eventually, after the flurry of activity in distributing and 276
removing the food, the kava maker's assistant calls out that the 574
kava is clear and the matāpule gives the order for servers to come from the outer group with cups. A cup of kava is taken to each person in the main circle and to several in the outer group. Generally when the serving is completed the ceremony is ended. It may be continued, but in this case the second serving is directed by the matāpule on the chief's left. An informal kava ceremony may go on all night, alternating from right to left.

To recapitulate the sequence of ceremonial operations: the participants seat themselves; kava and food are presented and counted; a kava root is pounded and placed in the bowl; the kava is kneaded and water is poured in; the kava is strained, to the accompaniment of conversation or speeches and the distribution and clearing away of food; finally, cups of kava are served.

ever-competent assistance of the A.D.C. 574
punctuated our days and nights.

Daily Feasts

During the first course the delegates 575
came from the far-away islands of 462
Vava'u and Ha'apai and the nearer Eua, 873
so they were daily entertained by a 574
different local village which provided
them with three handsome meals, the 264
midday dinner being served on low
tables on the *Langa Fonua* back ver-
andah. A lorry would arrive between [262]
11.30 and 12, a team of servers gaily
garlanded would leap forth and unload [252]
great plaited coconut frond *pola* or
stretchers laden with delicious food—long yams or taro down each side forming a protective wall for the pyramid of whole sucking pigs (the pig population in 1955 was 30,000), chickens, shellfish, fresh fish, salads, water melons and the popular *lu pulu* (corned beef cooked with coconut cream and wrapped in taro leaves) as well as a special local cassava and caramel pudding also wrapped in green leaves.

We would sit, a company of about [533]
35 to 40, on the floor round this long
laden table and eat with our fingers, [534]
helping ourselves freely while the host [535]
team entertained us with ukulele, songs
and high-spirited dances in which many
of us took part as a healthy digestive to
the superb meal. Speeches from the [537]
visitors and hosts took place throughout
the meal, the orator frequently weeping [201]
as a gesture of appreciation of such generous hospitality.

Then would follow the afternoon ses-
sion, which on three days appropriately [177]
consisted of a talk on food values and a cooking demonstration.

Sunday was the final feast of that first week, at the house of the A.D.C. and his wife, the Hon. Vaea and Tuputupu, where European custom of linen and cutlery mingled with the lavish, genial festivity of Tonga.

The average attendance was 35 at these five-day courses for women leaders from different areas.

Courses For Village Instructors

Tonga has much the same difficulty 621
as other countries throughout the world 873
regarding village work, namely, the 575
problem of keeping up interest without 462
extraneous leadership. The morning
sessions were consequently directed to- 177

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Midday feast between classes—Miss Stewart at end of table, Miss Summerton on her left. The delegates attending this course were all from other islands, and each day they were entertained by a different local village which provided three lavish meals, the midday one being a full feast.

[P. 28-A]

/19 cont./

181 brought him a profit of £T 75 (about
426 700 German marks).
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181 In the villages of the small Tonga Islands almost every group having
264 a meal together will invite one or more passersby to eat with them;
574 the guest is given the best, and at the larger festivals which, since the "democratization," have moved more within the commoners' realm (private persons, kautaha or cooperative labor pools, and churches as organizers), they usually do not economize in expenses.

181 European influence has been able to change but little their
177 general good nature and hospitality, especially since life in the villages has remained easy and carefree. Yet the influx of money is
181 to be observed. On the small islands there are relatively few
177 natives who /20/ hand over to their fellow villagers the products of
184 their plantations and other goods for money, (11)
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> 11. Often they exchange value for value, for example a length of tapa for a pig. However, giving without direct quid pro quo, this old system of Tongan community life (a perpetual assurance of reciprocity) is still, on an island like Nomuka, more frequent than barter; it is practiced mostly in the Ha'apai group, less in Tongatapu and Vava'u, and seems rather suppressed in places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu.

and they are generally felt to be outsiders in the community. In places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, on the other hand, there are many of them and there, in the gradually urbanized settlements with European commercial enterprises, selling is taken for granted among the Tongans.
181 Yet business acumen is little developed among these natives. (12)
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> 12. For example, Tongans who help the "medicine dispenser" on the plantations of Nomuka would rather accept a packet of tobacco than a seven shillings wage per day, though in the shops of the same island they have no

/69 cont./
593 784 his head in the mirror, without being actually stopped by their
parents.

The brother-sister taboo has remained stronger among all classes,
593 784 although it too has been eased. Brother and sister may not, for
178 example, sleep in the same house if they are more than nine or
[513] twelve years old. This taboo is still commonly observed in Tongan-
style houses, and another small house is built for the sons, while
the daughters may sleep in the house of the parents. In the
[177] European-style wooden houses one may occasionally observe this custom
[513] being relaxed, with the siblings sleeping in different rooms (with
closed doors) of the same house. According to the ancient taboo, the
brother was not permitted to come to the house of the sister, nor
the latter to the brother's house. This prohibition has been relaxed;
[516] for the siblings may go enter each other's dwelling by example, the
sister wishes to enter the room in which her brother is sitting,
near the entrance, she enters through another entrance, and her
brother does not remain lying down or casually sitting, but gets
up, straightens out his vala, and then sits down with properly
crossed legs. The taboo against brother and sister eating together
[264] has been relaxed to the extent that the siblings may partake of a
meal in the same place and at the same time, but they must not sit
next to, or near, each other. Whereas in old times, brother and
[521] sister were not permitted to converse, and necessary question always
had to be asked from outside through the hut's wall and answered
from inside, today they speak together freely, but by no means
about off-color subjects, and they conscientiously avoid all "bad
words." According to the old brother-sister taboo, they were also
not permitted to go for a walk together. Nowadays, this sometimes
occurs.

This noticeable weakening of both the child-father taboo and the

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313 trees (*Bischofia javanica* Bl.) or *toa* trees (*Casuarina equisetifolia*
[824] L.) at his disposal on his plantation (bushland)--as in old times--
[439] and does not wish to sacrifice valuable breadfruit trees to make posts,
then he must go to an uninhabited island where--again as in old ways--
he will look for suitable trees, or else he will buy imported Canadian
or New Zealand building timber which, moreover, is preferably used
342 instead of coconut palm trunks for the beams. To build a house in old
177 Tongan style, which is supposed to have board walls and be covered
439 with corrugated sheet metal, and especially to put up a European-style
construction, a person must, in good time, buy enough corrugated metal,
imported wood, nails and possibly cement in the commercial centers of
the Archipelago and transport them to his native island in the small
cutters.

342 /141/ Since a man must generally supply food for the specialist
264 (in case such a one is building the house) and all his helpers (other-
574 wise the orderly course of the work might easily be endangered as a
result of growing apathy), he must, in due time, raise quantities of
food plants and, in addition, depending on the size of the understaking,
fatten a number of pigs. If a man does not wish--or is not able--to
offer hospitality in this ancient Tongan style, he must have in readiness sacksful of flour and sugar, large cans of corned beef, tea and,
if possible, loaves of bread, in order to provide meals.

342 After all preparations have progressed to the point where they
331 can guarantee a steady flow of work, the day is set for the building
to begin. The work force assembles on the day announced; the work
begins.

The following account of the building of a house in November/
[177] December 1951 on Nomuka may show the juxtaposition (or fusion) of old
[178] and new:

331 /142 cont./
342 335 rest periods, make 110 rafters by early afternoon. Then they go back
476 to the building site and around 16 o'clock they each have an earth-
[461] oven meal, prepared in the meantime by their wives and other women,
[264] from the supplies of the "boss"; each man is served a portion (yams,
[262] manioc, kape, bananas, pork, beef) in a traditional coconut-leaf
[415] basket and with it a coconut mug containing fish soup. Thereafter the
[516] work in the village is resumed: five Tongans sitting crosslegged
"plane" the rafters by striking them with the small transverse hatchets
(fale-vatu si'i, toki taha-taha, toki tele) or with the machete, two
natives cut more rafters out of trunks which are brought from the
plantations, and 12 Tongans hold a kava gathering at the site to
"sanction" the building project, while three women prepare the
[264] evening meal. This is eaten when twilight sets in (around 18:30):
[262] everyone present gets three or four fried cakes and highly sweetened
orange-leaf tea in coconut bowls. Around 19 o'clock everybody goes
home.

342 On the second building day, while several younger natives split
313 off and plane more rafters and a kava circle of elders is gathered on
335 the building site, six Tongans and the carpenter go to the plantations
331 (after the fried-cake and orange-leaf-tea breakfast) to get sections
of curved beams (for the narrow sides of the new building). According
to an apparently very old system, these are cut out of coconut palm
342 trunks that have grown with a special curvature. Again the men work
335 with the big axe and the big transverse hatchet. From each palm a
331 curved section of beam is obtained. Around 13 o'clock- after they
[264] have cut up the seventh palm, they grow listless, build a fire, roast
a few green bananas in it, have a snack and then go back to the
village, leaving the remaining five palms of the day's quota for the
342 following day. Around 14:30, /143/ 'ota 'i mango (a refreshing drink
272 of grated green mangoes, grated coconut meat, water and sugar) is
264

/143 cont./

342 served, and at 15 o'clock everyone gets his basket with his share of
272 the earth-oven meal: manioc, kape, sweet potatoes and salted
264 beef, along with a coconut mug of beef broth. In the afternoon, while
342 a few natives continue splitting and planing rafters, others, with
331 the huo lafa-lafa (shovel iron), (374)

374. See p. 233-234.

level the ground measured off by the carpenter for the house. Under a
[276] temporary corrugated metal roof a kava group of ten older men is
[571] gathered. At 18:45 fried cakes and orange-leaf tea are again handed
[264] out. Then the men slowly go home; a few natives take along a
basket of leftovers from the afternoon meal.

[332] On the third day of work, more rafters and curved sections of
[412] beams are made; the ground plan of the house (in ancient Tongan style)
[177] is marked out, and an approximately 15 centimeter excavation is dug
(tools: two huo spade [a small iron blade set on an old digging stick;
[276] see page 234] and a European shovel). Four older Tongans form a kava
[571] circle. The meals are the same as on the previous days. The work
[796] stops toward 16 o'clock, for at 17 o'clock the usual church service
(Friday) is held.

[335] On the subsequent work days the posts and beams (native and
Canadian wood) are cut and planed with the carpenter's tools
(transverse hatchet, saws, planes, adzes); the work on the rafters
(total number 250) also continues. The meals corresponds to those
[276] of the preceding days. The kava gathering of older men continues to
[571] assemble on the building site.

342 Finally, the four customary posts that are to carry the roof are
331 set in place. However, the carpenter intends to give the house more
335 room and to replace the "disturbing" posts with special supports of
Canadian building timber, leading upward obliquely from the side walls;

415 /149 cont./
177 have long since been replaced by sturdy English metal pots and kettles.
412 Coconut-meat graters (hakalo) can be found in every household, but
178 the natives have fastened to the tripods (tree branches) or to the
simple boards, serrated, flat bar iron instead of shells. On the
262 whole, only a few families still eat banana leaves (or leaves of the
178 breadfruit tree). (395)

395. At feasts, however, banana leaves are still plentifully used.

415 Today, in all households, there are earthenware or tin plates, and
412 cups and mugs for drinking. Many households own table knives, forks,
177 and spoons which, however, are scarcely ever used, since people still
[264] generally eat with their fingers (often directly out of the bowls
415 instead of on plates). Tin and earthenware jugs are common, and often
177 one also sees glasses and glass pitchers for the popular native and
European refreshing drinks.

177 The increase of imported European goods in Tongan households has
352 in some cases increased to a complete adoption of European furnishing
405 which may consist of beds, cupboards, chests of drawers, tables, easy
534 chairs, straight chairs, wall clocks, framed pictures and even pianos,
428 of which some things have been inherited by half-castes. Even in these
177 cases, however, the old Tongan life has usually proved stronger than
178 the compulsion for foreign furnishings, for the owner will continue
516 to sit crosslegged on the floor.

177 Thus in the field of Tongan household equipment it is to be
178 observed that essential elements of the old Tongan furnishings
(seat mats, bed, kava bowl) have been preserved, though in altered
forms, that some ancient cultural assets (headrests, certain baskets,
lamps, bottle gourds, wooden containers) have been lost and are at
present disappearing, and that many European objects have been
adopted, which to the Tongans seems useful of superior to corresponding

/162 cont./

245 huo spade they dig holes approximately 50 centimeters deep (diameter 25 to 30 centimeters) in which they plant a sprig (root sucker). They fill the plant hole with earth so that a depression remains in which water from rainfalls can accumulate. The distance between plants is about five meters on a flat area. Every three weeks or so they remove the proliferating weeds with the huo lafa-lafa. After six to nine months the first fruits can be harvested.

niu = Coconut Palm (Cocos nucifera L.)

824 Since the settlement of the Archipelago the coconut palm has play-
178 ed a very special role in Tongan culture. At the present time in particular, in view of its extraordinarily manifold uses, (426)

426. The following list will show the all-purpose uses of the coconut palm in Tonga; ("old") and ("new") indicate whether or not its utilization was already common in ancient Tonga.

[262] 1.The meat of the nut (kakano 'i niu): eaten in pieces
[252] by the natives (old); grated (or squeezed out as coconut
[231] milk) for preparing foods and beverages (old); grated
[303] to feed chickens and pigs (old), used in pieces to
[372] feed pigs (old) and horses (new); used for making copra (new); the oil obtained from the meat is used to make hair oil and body oil (lolo Tonga) (old), to fry in a pan (new) and to burn as fuel in the absence of petroleum imports (old).

[272] 2. The water of the nut (huhu'a oe niu): especially of
[262] unripe nuts is drunk by the natives (old); in an unripe
[264] nut it is stirred together with the meat and eaten (old); used at meals to wash one's fingers (old).

[415] 3. The hard shell (Endocarpium) of the nut (nge'esi niu):
[372] used for making drinking mugs (old); as fuel (old) and
[524] (as charcoal) to heat flat irons (new); used as a child's toy su nge'esi niu ("coconut shell shoes," see p. 272 (new).

[283] 4. The husk (Mesocarpium) of the nut (pulu): used to make cord (kafa) for house and boat building, for fastening blades to tools etc. (old); used as cover for hatchets

/189 cont./

262 This list shows that 228 out of 353 'Uiha meals consisted
184 exclusively of products that were available even in ancient Tonga,
while 69 of the 173 Fungamisi meals were prepared on a purely "ancient
Tongan basis." The influence of the seaport of Neiafu on the village
of Fungamisi is recognizable; the example of the European and half-
caste households there, as well as abundant supplies in the shops of
that town clearly influence the standard of living of the neighboring
262 settlement. The proportion of salted meat, corned beef, white bread,
184 butter, tea, etc., is noticeable. The "European ingredients" (483)
of 'Uiha and Fungamisi meals are usually no more than "supplementary."
/190/ Manioc, however, appears as a basic food, and in Fungamisi
there are a few families who have already gone over to regular bread
262 meals. The very large proportion of breadfruit is due to the fact
[221] that the months of April/May are the main harvest time for it.

262 Basically, the meals for Sundays, holidays and feasts are the
264 same as everyday meals; they differ only in quantity and in richer
ingredients (and sometimes more complicated preparation). As examples
[527] we list 12 Sunday meals in the village of 'Uiha (April 1952) and
[574] four gala meals (faka afe) (484)
on Nomuka (December 1951):

---

177 483. "European ingredients" include all foods that
[244] were not available in ancient Tonga, but reached
[432] the Archipelago only as a result of European
influences and are procured today by planting
(for example, manioc, see pp. 231-232, 240-241) or by
purchase from shopkeepers (for example, corned
beef, roast beef, salted meat, sugar, flour,
white bread, zwieback, tea, cocoa, coffee).

484. See p. 142-143.

/190 cont./

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264
252
177

Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of	Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of	Sunday Meal ('Uiha) consisting of
Breadfruit, b., fish	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Carica papaya corned beef	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Taro, st. Carica papaya salted meat
Breadfruit, b. pork	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. taro leaves fish corned beef	Breadfruit, st. Manioc, st.
Breadfruit, st. fish octopus	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish	Breadfruit, st. Manioc, st. fish
Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. sweet potato leaves corned beef fish	Breadfruit, st. Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish	Yams, st. Manioc, st. fish
Breadfruit, b., Yams, b., sweet potato leaves corned beef		

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252

Gala Meal(faka afe) (Nomuka) consisting of	Gala Meal(faka afe) (Nomuka) consisting of
Yams, st. kape, st. Bananas (hopa), st. Tonga pudding(faikakai) pork chicken fish	Yams, st. Sweet potatoes, st. kape, st. bananas (siaine) English pudding pork chicken duck
Yams, st. Sweet potatoes, st. Bananas (hopa), st. watermelon English pudding pork fish corned beef red lemonade	Fried cakes Zwieback with marmalade Cocoa made with water, added condensed milk and sugar red lemonade

[272]

/197 cont./

264 412 the bamboo knife customary in former times.

pieces of tuber, fish or meat and put them in their mouths; in the case of tubers, some also knead individual bites into balls. By far
264 415 177 the majority of natives today use European pottery and tin plates instead of the banana and breadfruit leaves used as plates in ancient Tonga. It is only for gala meals that food is still generally served on banana leaves which are placed on plaited coconut-palm leaves or even on pieces of corrugated sheet metal. While kava is drunk only
415 276 178 out of coconut mugs, cups and ordinary mugs are today present in all households for the rest of the beverages; the ancient Tonga banana-leaf mugs (513)

513. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative...I. p. 96/97; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 197.

264 178 have long since fallen into oblivion. Meals are eaten in the cook hut, in the open, on the verandas of European houses and sometimes (especially gala meals) in living rooms; eating inside the dwelling means a break with ancient custom, but it has by no means become a general habit.

264 562 Women were never excluded from common meals in Tonga. (514)

514. Even Cook was struck by this (J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 289.

264 565 The once strictly observed social stratification among the people, however, made a sharp distinction, especially at meals, between members of the individual classes or the holders of various titles. (515)

515. See also J. Cook, ibid.

[178] Though the differences /198/ are today less glaring in public, one will scarcely see a person of higher rank dining with one of lower rank.

264 574 178 261 The numerous ancient Tongan festivals belong to the past as a

/198 cont./

264 result of the Christianization and democratization of the Archipelago,
574 and with them have disappeared the large gala meals which, in old
178 261 times, could cause the danger of food shortage and hardship. (516)

516. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 214/215.

262 Seen as a whole, strong European influences are to be noted in
177 178 the food sector, (517)

517. European foods even play a special role in festive customs.

which have led to a coexistence and merging of old and new and also to a loss of old traditions. Yet the main foundation of the ancient Tongan system of nutrition has been preserved: Though some imported foods have gained great importance, they have not become the chief foods, but are merely additions to the ancient Tongan fare. The traditional basic foods have not been replaced. Rather, the Tongans are largely meeting their own food needs through cultivation (especially of old indigenous plants), fishing (mostly with traditional methods) and domestic animal raising (with predominantly ancient Tongan domestic animals), and if today the islands should fall back into isolation, the entire population could go on living without particular readjustment and without hardship, solely from the products of their own land. (518)

[146] 518. Tongan everyday food is astonishingly poor in proteins and vitamins, according to European ideas. Yet the natives have been nourishing themselves in this way for many centuries, and are on the whole tall, well built and mostly plump figures.

Luxuries

276 261
262 If, by the term "luxury," we mean everything that is eaten and drunk merely because it is pleasant, regardless of its nutritional
272 273 value, we must mention under this heading for Tonga kava, tobacco,

/225 cont./

512 [181] tranquility and equanimity of these human beings who, with a measure of regularity, go about their customary tasks, duties and forms of relaxation.

/226/ They usually get up quite early in the morning (between five and six o'clock) and often start the day with a short prayer. While the wife busies herself preparing the morning meal and the children help her or finish their schoolwork, the husband usually (after feeding his pigs) goes to his plantation (588) in order to take advantage of the pleasant morning coolness. The [264] family has its first meal some time between nine and eleven o'clock, in which the husband of course takes part if by that time he has returned from his plantation (where he would also be able to prepare a meal for himself). The wife spends the morning "taking care of the house" (she spreads out the sleeping-mats and -tapa in the sun in front of the house, cleans and sweeps the interior and straightens out and rolls up the bedding), and, besides attending to the small children (the older children are at school), she might busy herself with the plaiting of a mat that may have been started a long time before; she might also go to the beach on the surf side of the island in order to look for algae, polyps, mussels or crabs. In case the husband has not remained on his plantation he will probably attend to his copra-making or his fishing. While some families in the larger towns will have another [264] [177] [461] meal around noon, according to the European example, most of the natives on the smaller islands simply take a longer rest which lasts until the worst heat is over (about 15 o'clock). Then the villages wake up to new life. The men visit the plantations or they now go fishing or take up their planned copra work with which the women sometimes help; otherwise, the women continue with their plaitwork or now

588. Sometimes he also goes fishing.

/226 cont./

512 stroll down to the beach to hunt for seafood, or they start preparing a new supply of hair- and body-oil. An important task for them, [264] however, is the preparation of the afternoon meal of which the entire family partakes between 17 and 19 o'clock. Around this time the [515] husband has returned from his plantation (often with fruit he picked) and has washed himself thoroughly and put on clean clothes. The children have spent the afternoon helping or playing and are now mostly also washed, as is the wife. Around 19 o'clock, after the meal, it has grown dark. Most families gather in their houses for prayer. Thereafter, the children spend a little time at their schoolwork and soon lie down to sleep while the husband and wife sit by the light of kerosene lamps, chat and talk over the next day and then go to rest around 21 - 22 o'clock. Many men and youths have [574] /227/ meanwhile gathered in various houses of the village for their kava circles (589)

589. See p. 144ff.

which seem to a large extent to satisfy all their social aspirations and which last far into the night, sometimes even until dawn. In [794] many villages natives of both sexes gather in the evenings to take [533] part in the practice and rehearsals of the various church choirs.

Circumstances may vary this average daily routine. Thus, the weather (for example, humidity or dryness) may be the occasion for [796] various tasks (plantations) or may prevent them. Church services also induce natives to get up earlier on some days of the week and to start the day with church attendance, or to end, thus, the day's work in the afternoon. Moreover, communal projects such as house-building (not so much boat-building) and the making of tapa lengths and mats in the kautaha houses (590)

[252] 590. On the days of such communal projects by

/228 cont./

512
527 (592)

[796] 592. Children also attend Sunday school.

[794] in which most of the natives (of both sexes and all ages) take part.
[252] Chiefly in the morning (around eight o'clock) the men, with the help
[264] of their wives, prepare an earth-oven (593)

> 593. This work, of course, the men also performed during the week if their wives have not prepared food in a simple manner.

the contents of which, around ten or eleven o'clock, serve as the main
[264] Sunday dinner, the leftovers of which they like to eat in the afternoon
as a second meal. As for the rest of the day, they prefer to spend it
[574] sleeping and chatting and also paying visits; some Tongans read the
[212] bible for a long time (as they often do evenings during the rest of the
[571] week), and in every village men belonging to individual community groups
[264] gather for the gala meal of thanksgiving sponsored by the church (fakaafe).

512 The daily routine of the Tongans, like their division of labor, essentially does not change throughout the seasons. Not only the population in general, (594)

> [463]
> [461] 594. The daily schedule of Tongans who have special professions (for example, teachers, physicians, clerks, government employees) is, of course, determined by their work.

but also many nobles, in contrast to the past, spend their days in this manner, provided they do not hold an office that carries with it a special honor.

512 Thus the daily routine reflects the changes, the transformation of
177 Tongan culture: Included in the array of traditional tasks, duties
178 and leisure activities are new activities (595)
[527]

> 595. Copra-production; clothes washing; church duties; attendance at church services, prayers,

S /296 cont./
T 177 canned goods have even been introduced into their ceremonial life.
178 Food preparation shows many traditional features--as among the Tongans
[262] and perhaps even more so--along with certain innovations (for example
[252] iron cooking pots), and the typical method of eating with one's
[415] [264] fingers has also been retained.--The conservative Samoans have probably not felt the need for further changes in their tried-and-true methods in areas relating to their means of subsistence, which, moreover, have not been influenced very much by Europeans and indeed would be difficult to change if only because of geographic conditions.

S T 276 In both Archipelagos tobacco, a luxury imported by Europeans, has
177 become quite important; the natives grow it themselves to a large
249 432 extent and also buy it from shopkeepers.

S T /297/ As in Tonga, copra production in Samoa has become a very
245 common occupation, and to this has been added cocoa-growing. However,
S here too these new activities have not brought about much change; there
[434] has been no profit- mania, and the old social system has proved strong
[596] enough to withstand these influences, for the *matai* take over the proceeds and use them on behalf of the entire family.

S T The typical women's handwork of tapa-making and plaiting lives
462 on in Samoa--at least with respect to quality--as it does in Tonga.
178 Division of labor according to sex has also scarcely changed on the
463 Samoa Islands; however, in contrast to the development in the Tonga Archipelago, the social division of labor (titles-untitles) has still
S T been largely upheld. The daily routine has remained basically the
512 same in both island groups, and has been influenced only to a certain
178 extent by new duties and tasks. Land and sea traffic has changed very
S T much in Samoa, as in Tonga, but it is noteworthy that the Samoans build
489 and use the simple outriggers (*paopao*) and in addition rather large
178 numbers of the more complicated bonito-boats (*va'aalo*).
S
[501]

262 Cultural patterns, which determine the
264 rank order of food consumption during family meals, also often limit
the preschooler's diet.[1]

262 Diet is also influenced by the prestige value of foods as
was discussed in relation to papaya, pork and goat. Tubers are
generally ascribed a high prestige value in Tonga. This is par-
[146] ticularly true of the yam and white potato. However, leafy
vegetables which are potential sources of vitamins lack this status

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[1] Tongan government officials and members of the World Health
Association publicly deny the existence of a feeding order within
[124] Tongan households. However, it was confidentially learned from
field officers of W.H.O. and medical personnel in Tonga that such a
situation does exist and is a significant influence upon the nutri-
tional well-being of the preschooler. Personal observations sub-
stantiated the prevalence of a traditional feeding order, in which
the meal is consumed in shifts, with adult men (joined occasionally
by women) eating first, women and children eating in an order fol-
lowing. It was noted in many cases that preschoolers are unable to
compete with older children for those food items not consumed by
[855] adult family members. Occasionally older children are given charge
of feeding younger brothers or sisters, and subsequently neglect
their responsibility. Thus, another significant factor which
influences the nutritional well-being of the preschooler is his age
[221] and ability to fend for himself. A category of foods nearly uni-
versally neglected in nutritional survey work is that generally
known as "bush food," or those wild or domesticated fruits, nuts,
etc. which an individual collects and consumes away from the house-
hold. A preschooler is not physically developed enough to take
advantage of this food source. A three-year-old was never observed
scaling a coconut palm in search of a snack. However, a 40 foot
[226] palm proved no obstacle to a 6- or 7-year-old. Similarly, pre-
schoolers were never observed on the reefs searching for edible
raw shellfish. However, older children, as well as numerous adults,
were able to take advantage of this valuable protein source. The
preschooler is at a developmental stage in which he is totally
dependent upon the household for food. However, within the house-
hold, he usually consumes only the leftovers and is often left
out entirely. This cultural pattern is totally contradictory to
the nutritional needs of the growing child.

146 TABLE 21.--Proximal Evaluation of Canned Meat Typically Available to Tongan Consumers.

Content (%)	Globe Corned Beef	K & R Corned Meat Loaf	Suggested[1] Value
Protein	21.93	7.68	26
Fat	10.82	13.63	8
Carbohydrate	.95	13.39	--
Ash	2.50	2.40	4
Moisture	63.80	62.90	62
Total	100.00	100.00	100

[1] Value for corned beef as given in H. S. Mitchell, et al., Cooper's Nutrition in Health and Disease, 15th ed. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1968), p. 553.

262 environment. Cassava, though consumed throughout the Kingdom, is proportionally less important in rural areas. However, as emphasized in preceding chapters, this fact is changing, with increasing consumption of cassava in such densely settled areas as western Tongatapu and Ha'apai.

264 The 24-hour dietary recall for each preschool subject substantiated the trends indicated by the frequency of consumption records. In urban Nuku'alofa, children often eat only one or two
262 meals per day. Of particular interest is the urban child's
272 reliance upon bread and butter for an entire meal. Tea is also

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

562 One of the most remarkable things in connexion with the Tonga Islands is the
562 respect and consideration in which the women are held. They
565 have female chiefs; and if a woman of the higher class marry any
one beneath her, she still retains her superior rank.

133 The coral reef at Nu-ku-alófa forms a belt along the shore,
varying from 50 to 150 yards in width, deepening suddenly
so that a large vessel at low water might lie close alongside
it like a wharf. Over this coral flat we had always to walk upon
landing, the depth of water upon the crumbling coral varying
from ankle to knee-deep, with occasional holes in which one might
suddenly find himself up to the neck. After our first visit we
always went prepared for any depth.

643 At 4 o'clock King George, accompanied by the missionaries,
609 Messrs. Lawry, Amos, and Daniells, came off to the ship. His
Majesty now wore a clean white shirt, with the usual tappa petticoat
[292] fastened round the waist and hanging down to the feet. He
was received at the gangway by Captain Keppel and officers with
a guard of honour, and was then taken below to the captain's cabin.
Here he looked with great attention at the pictures hanging round,
particularly at some hunting scenes; and being shown a coloured
panoramic sketch which I had made at Cape York, with canoes and
Torres Straits natives in the foreground, he looked at it very attentively,
inquiring where they belonged to, and asking several other
questions about them. In the dining cabin he examined with
great interest the engraving of the Queen after Winterhalter.
[264] At dinner his manner was composed and dignified: he took soup,
[157] and used a knife and fork with perfect ease, taking wine with Captain
Keppel and the rest at table, preferring champagne to any
other, but drinking very moderately. When asked if he would
[262] take some wild-duck (which had been shot at the lagoon in the
island), he replied, "No, that is Tonga, I can always get that,"
and, looking towards a leg of mutton, added, "I will take some
sheep." He inquired the rank of the different officers who were
at table, and observing a midshipman amongst them, he asked
[262] "Why that boy was there?" As he was helping himself when the
cheese came round, one of the missionaries interrupted him rather
hurriedly, telling him that he thought he would not like it; to which
he replied quietly, "If I do not, I can wash it down with water."
[157] The most perfect composure of manner marked all his actions, and
formed one of the most striking features in his character. At
dessert, several glasses, containing different kinds of wine, were
placed before him, in order that he might choose which he liked
best. Captain Keppel observed at the same time that there were
other light French wines if he preferred them, at which he shook
his head, and said, with an animated expression in broken English,
"I do not like French." Upon his health being drunk, and the